

protin. 8.

AN  
ANSWER VNTO  
A CERTAINE CA-

lumnious letter published by M. IOB

Throkmorton, and entituled,

*A defence of I. THROKMORTON against the  
flaunders of M. SVTCLIFFE,*

Wherein the vanitie both of the defence of him-  
selfe, and the accusation of others is mani-  
festly declared, by MATTHEW  
SVTCLIFFE.

Nemo inter eos perfectus est, qui non magna mendacia velut fructus suæ  
disciplinæ produxerit. *Iren. de seſt. Val. lib. 1. aduerſ. hareſ. c. 15.*

Non tam facile est scelus excuſare, ac patrare. *Papinianus apud Spar-  
tianum in Anton. Carac.*

Vanitas loquax. *Auguſt. de ciuit. Dei. lib. 5.*



Imprinted at LONDON by the Depu-  
ties of Christopher Barker, Printer to  
the QUEENES most excel-  
lent Maieſtie.

*Anno Dom. 1595.*



ANSWER V.M.  
TO A CERTAIN CA.

Published by M. L. A.

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When in the van of the battle, the defeat of him-

1944-1945

• 2 2 7 1 1 3 1 7 2

There were no birds of any kind seen in the area.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

1. The results of the study are as follows:

100-100000-100000

1880

Approved at London by the Deput-

ies of Christopher Baker, Printer to

the *Q* was not exact.

1111

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TO HIS HONOVABLE

*good friend,* Sir EDMUND ANDERSON

Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of her Maie-

*sties Court of Common Pleas.*



Y good Lord, I doe know your  
businesse is great, and your lai-  
sure litle, especially nowe this  
Terme time, when beside your  
priuate affaires, so many doe  
still call vpon you for matters  
of Iustice. but if your Lord-  
ship could spare any time, then

would I craue so much fauor, that you would be plea-  
sed to heare a matter lately begun betwixt M. *Throk-*  
*morton* (a man I thinke not vnknownen to your Lord-  
ship) and my selfe: and the rather for that I take this to  
be a matter of Iustice, whose decision doeth especially  
belong to your selfe, albeit this man refusing ordina-  
rie triall, hath appealed to other Iudges.

This man in a letter of his lately printed and publi-  
shed, whether vpon iollitie of courage, or extremitie  
of malice, or I know not what cause, hath begun against  
me, a needlesse, and very friuolous quarell; needlesse,  
for that hee is not the man against whom I contend;  
friuolous, for that winne he, or lose he, it wil be litle re-  
garded. there be greater matters both in the Church



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

& common wealth, to busie mens minds about, then *M. Throkmortons* cause, a man that neither for learning nor vertue, nor any cause that I know, vnlesse it be for *Martinisme*, and *Hackets* practise is knowen, or cometh in any reckoning. Whatsoever cause mooued him to come foorth, and to offer himselfe to be hampered by euery mans censure; he was not wise, either to call his owne name in question, or to challenge me. neither would he euer haue taken this course, had not those bitter curses which his hard and <sup>1</sup> vndutiful dealings extorted from his mother, pursued him and light vpon him. that the parents curse lighteth heauie vpon disobedient children, <sup>2</sup> *Plato* sheweth by the example of *Oedipus*. The same I thinke will appeare by master *Throkmorton*. for were not Gods hand heauie vpon him, he would neuer haue troubled himselfe when he might haue bene quiet, nor endangered himselfe whom none pursued, nor vrged men to declare matters, which they neuer meant to open. For mine owne part I may iustly say, I neuer meant to hurt him, or to contend with him, or to molest him. if he bee either hurt or grieued, it is his own fault, that hath published his owne shame, and forced others to lay open his bad practises. Sure hee was not wise to make himselfe the argument of the common peoples talke, nor to hazard his reputation by writing, that with more credite might haue sitten still, and written nothing. For what sought he when he published this Pamphlet? did hee seeke for fame for his good enditing and pleasant stile? there is nothing more loose or more vnsufficient then this discourse, or more harsh and disiointed then his stile. Did he desire credite for his great learning? why, hee sheweth none; and this his printed  
letter

<sup>1</sup> In these last times, there shall be men without naturall affection, disobedient to parents. 2.

Tim. 3.

<sup>2</sup> De legibus 11.



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

letter is most vnlearned, & scarce befeeming him that hath knowledge of good letters, or any letters at all. Would hee cleare himselfe of slander? why, I know none that directly chargeth him, and I am assured for any thing said by me, he is not slandered; and were the matters obiected by himselfe, and his owne answere compared together, yet I thinke there is none, but thinketh worse of him now then before. so clerkly and wisely hath he handled his matters. I do verily thinke, when all causes which might mooue him to publish this his calumnious letter, are gathered together, that there is none which wrought greater effects in him, then malice towards me, vpon whom he thought hauing (as simply he conceiued) some good aduantage against me, by this meanes to bee reuenged. He doeth percase imagine that I stand in his light, and hinder his secret purposes, for which cause by this writ of slander he seeketh to remooue me.

To repress that malice therefore which mooued him to raile vpon mee, I haue bene occasioned, albeit vnwilling, to answere his thrise simple and pitiful, yet railing letter, for although I esteemed not the barking of euery one against me, nor respected my selfe, whose credite dependeth not vpon *Throkmortons* report: yet not willing to heare a malecontent oppugne the proceedings of lawes, and honour of Iudges, nor patiently enduring the cause of Ecclesiasticall gouernment, by vniust imputations to my selfe, or others, to be blemished; I haue answered him, albeit hee brought nothing to bee answered. but shortly. for what should a man stand long about nothing?

He imputeth vnto me certaine erronious opinions. but good man he vnderstood not what he spoke of.



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

and therefore hoping to take others, falleth himselfe most grossely. which notwithstanding is not so much his fault, as others, that should haue instructed him better. Next, he would acquite himselfe of all suspition of any practise with *Hacket*, and *Copinger*, or dealing in the making and publishing of *Martin*. and yet the good gentleman doeth so entangle himselfe, that there is no man, that doth indifferently reade this letter, but wil pronounce him guiltie. yea himselfe much doubteth the matter. for why went he about to make this braue defence, if there were not some roote of suspicion remaining in his conscience? and why dare he not clerely deny the accusation, but that he findeth himselfe guiltie?

This short discourse I would pray your Lordship to peruse. it will not spend you many houres. and percase may ease you a litle of the weight of greater cares. I beseech you also to suffer the same to passe vnder the protection of your Lordships fauor. in pleading a case of Law, I shall thinke my selfe graced, if your Lordships name may be placed in the front of my booke.

The reasons that mooued me to offer it vnto your Lordship are diuers. my aduersary obiecting to himselfe (for I know not else who obiecteth them) diuers felonies and treasons, pleadeth, *not guiltie*, before a Lady. and after that pleadeth in print before the common people. of which forme I haue not knowen many pleadings. I thought it therefore more conuenient to examine his defence before your Lordship, that can best iudge of such causes, and hath authoritie either to acquite him, or condemne him, if hee come before you.

Further, those matters wherewith he chargeth me,  
and



*The Epistle Dedicatorie.*

and those also wherewith hee taketh himselfe to be charged, are contained in that Booke which about two yeeres and a halfe since I did dedicate to your Lordship. it standeth me therefore vpon being challenged for matter vttered before your Lordship, to iustifie my selfe likewise before you. Lastly there is none that can better, or is more willing to repressse the foolish prating of such insolent felowes, as either vnadvisedly speake, or maliciously write matters tending to the diffamation and slander of her Maiestie, the gouernment Ecclesiasticall, and the Lawes, then your Lordship.

Vouchsafe therefore my good L. to accept this second booke also, conteining an answer to an importunate aduersary; and with your fauourable protection to patronize the same. In patronizing trueth and iustice, your Lordship shal in the opinion of all honest men deserue the honour and reputation of a good, and loyal Iusticer.

*Your Lordships in all true affection,*

MATTH. SVTCLIFFE.





## ¶ To the Reader.



Bout three yeres passed, gentle Reader, there came to my handes a small booke entituled, A petition directed to her Maiestie, pretending in many glorious termes, and faire gloses, great zeale and desire of reformation, but in deede conteyning diuers scandalous accusations, articles, and interrogatories tending to the disgrace and ouerthrow of the present gouernment of the Church of England, and the establishment of a new deuised forme of policie, rather in deede politicke then Religious, by certaine Churchaldermen, men but of late time neuer heard of in the Church of God. Vnto that petition was also added a iustification not onely of diuers malcontents that mislike the state present, but also of certaine malefactors whom the Iudges by ordinary course of Lawe had condemned. A discourse in the opinion of wise men very praiudiciall both to her Maiesties authoritie and Lawes, and also to the peace of Gods Church, and propagation of the Gospell, and certes very offensive for diffaming of diuers honest men and loyall Subiects, and that before the Princes presence, which was not therein respected, and to cease to speake much of a discourse so litle worth, very vsufficient and euilfeatured, beeing stuffed with many weake and false allegations, and much friuolous and idle talke as it were of a dyscrasied braine.

This petition for that it was not exhibited to her Maiesty according as the title purported, but printed and scattered abroad in diuers corners, to the ende to worke in the common sort a dislike of the Ecclesiasticall state, which by all meanes the same traduced, and a liking of the Consistorial discipline, which by all meanes it aduanced, I tooke my selfe bound in dutie



## To the Reader.

ie being her Maiesties subiect & a Minister of this Church, after that portion of learning which God hath giuen mee to answere, and so much the rather was I moued to undertake the matter, for that the author thereof had very malepertly named me, and as it were challenged me and prouoked me to answere. Neither did I thinke that any would (assured I was no man iustly could) take exception either to my selfe being so farre urged and prouoked, or to the forme of my answere conteined in other Articles and questions, following therein that way which the aduersary himselfe had prescribed, and as it were traced out before me. of all men mentioned & noted in my answere I least looked to heare of M. Throkinortons name. and strange newes it seemed to me, to see my selfe challenged by him, that hath nether Arte to dispute, nor stile to discourse, nor iudgment to know such matters as he handleth. Neither did I take him to haue so litle wit, as to bring his name, yea and life in question, being pursued by none before, and yet not cleare of danger, nor of so litle honesty as to accuse without cause, nor of so small cōsideration as to speake against the state, or to thinke that he was able to reuiue that cause which the chiefe champions of that side had deserted, and left without defence.

Howbeit contrary to my expectation vpon Easter eue last past, there came to my hands *Como por vn'aguinaldo de Pasqua*, a letter of his not written to mee (for he would not do me the fauour) but especially concerning me, which either hee or some other friend of his hath published in Print. not for any merite of the Letter, (for what deserueth that poore seely letter?) but (because hee meant to communicate this Easter out of charity) to do me some vncharitable despite.

<sup>1</sup> For an Easter beneuolence.

In this Letter il molto magnifico chargeth me for sooth with standring his great worship. and for that he would haue it publikely knowne and remembred of all the brotherhood



## To the Reader.

what an heynous offence is committed, he setteth this impi-  
tation together with my name at the toppe of euery leafe. it  
should seeme the man was in great heate and choler, when he  
wrote, that in euery leafe thundreth out such great wordes  
without any litle reason, yea or cause, that I can perceiue, un-  
lesse he had some finger in the Articles, and interrogatories  
which I answered. Certes, my meaning was not to offend  
him. and contrary to my meaning hee doeth me wrong, and  
himselfe much more, to be offended. if he would not haue bin  
named, why did the <sup>1</sup>Petitioner, whom that side till his rea-  
son was cased highly magnified, why did he, (I say) name me  
and many my betters? if he would haue blamed any, he should  
haue blamed the author of the Petition that began that lusty  
course. if he liked the course in him, why did he so offensively  
take it in me, whose meaning was onely to asfoyle question  
by question, as the sisters of that faction doe asfoyle riddle  
by riddle?

I doe assure thee it was not my intent in that discourse  
which M. Throkmorton so sharply entitleth Slanders to  
iniurie him or any man liuing. onely my purpose was to shew  
vnto the aduerse partie, as it were represented in a glasse,  
that wrong which by no reason they would beleue or con-  
fesse that they had done, and yet without wrong or iniurie to  
them. For who can find fault or complaine, hauing no other  
paiment nor measure returned, then was first deliuered and  
receiued? <sup>2</sup> great reason it is, and a good lawe, ~~that~~ men  
should be iudged by that law which themselues haue  
vsed, and by which they receiued benefit.

But suppose some hard measure had bene offered vnto the  
Petitioner and his companions, which are rude fellowes, and  
haue very vnequal measures: yet did I not thinke that M.  
Throkmorton would haue taken pepper in his braine, and  
bene so aduenturous as first to come foorth in print, and to  
seeke

<sup>1</sup> So I call the au-  
thour of the Pe-  
tition.

<sup>2</sup> Quod quisque  
iuru in alterum  
statuerit, eodem  
ipse utatur. ff.  
quod quisque. per  
301.



## To the Reader.

seeke reuenge. I tooke him first to bee of a milder disposition, and next of more wisdom, then to venture to fight without armes. Did he not consider that hee had no furniture fit for this kind of combate? did he not see that without learning the mysteries of religion cannot bee handled? where is his learning? where are those tongues & artes, that in such disputes are required? I thinke M. Throkmorton will not challenge any skill in them. his armes are bitter wordes, his principall helpe ignorance, his cuirace boldnesse and shamelesse scornefulnesse, his best facultie is in writing letters to Ladies, and such epistles as are set foorth in the name of Martin. A facultie wherein hee pleaseth himselfe very well, but no man els, and whereof dealing with me, he shall haue small vse, and in the ende no ioy. Being a man so unfit to dispute or discourse, who doth not maruell to see him make this foole-hardie challenge? being scarce a Nouice in studie, what doeth he preasse into the teachers chaire? will hee now maintaine a wrong, that is not able to shew any reason, albeit his cause were good?

I did not take M. Throkmorton to be either so audacious, or so simple as this strange dealing of his declareth him to be. but seeing he wil needs send me this Cartell of defiance, I cannot chuse but defend my selfe. Be the man what he will, the vanity of his vniust accusation against me, & the weaknesse of his defence shalbe layd open. against me he obiecteth erroneous opinions. but what can he say cōcerning deepe points of faith, that vnderstandeth not the grounds of faith? to cleare himselfe he telleth vs a long vsauery tale of his acquaintance with Copinger, and Hacket. but so, as he doth rather raise new doubts, then remoue any suspiciō formerly settled in mens minds. the rest of his discourse as it is beside his purpose, so it is most simple. I thinke his clients when they reade it, wil be ashamed of their patron. To deale with such an aduersary I am my selfe ashamed, for what conquest wil it be to ouercome



## To the Reader.

*a man unskilful in faits of armes? to perswade him were but  
lost labour. for he saith he is sufficiently resolved. he hath bin  
at the very oracle & fountaine of discipline, and understan-  
deth all the mysteries thereof, and affirmeth that a whole li-  
brary of Bookes written against him shall not perswade him.  
be that washeth an asses head, they say, loseth both his cost  
and his labour. So that in this contention whereunto I am  
necessarily drawne, I see nothing to be gained.*

*If I might haue chosen, I would haue wished that this chal-  
lenge had bene made rather by some other of that side whom  
they accompt wise and learned. so should it appeare, that their  
cause with no good handling can be holpen. now percase, if  
any mishap befall them, they will impute it to the weakenesse  
of their Champion, that was able to doe nothing but to make  
a brauada.*

*Seeing that which I wished may not bee, I will content my  
selfe with that which is, and prepare my selfe to encounter  
M. Throkmorton, who is thrust forth to speake against me.  
It maybe he wil looke for a long discourse. but what need ma-  
ny words in plaine matters? He obiecteth nothing. how then  
should a man make something, of nothing? yet would I be  
loth to omit any thing that M. Throk. shal thinke materiall.  
I haue therefore set downe his wordes at full, least hee should  
complaine he were not fully answered. The matters, you will  
say, are smal and trifling. but I cannot do withall, it is all that  
the man could say: and that little hee hath said, must haue  
somewhat said vnto it. Listen then a while, and ye shall  
heare M. Throkmortons words, and my answeres.*

*and so from the beginning of his title to the  
ende, that he may say he hath his full  
and finall answer.*

(\*)

¶ AN





# AN ANSWERE VN- to Iob Throkmortons letter.

Throkmorton.

*The defence of Iob Throkmorton against the slanders of M. Sutcliffe, taken out of a copie of his owne hand, as it was written to an honourable personage.*

The answer of Matthew Sutcliffe.



T is a matter most easie, and too too common to set downe great and sounding titles, and in the beginning of euery trifling pamphlet to make profession of great matters. but vnlesse the author be a man of his word, the discourse ensuing is seldome answerable to the title. *Celsus* entituled his booke against christian religion, ἀληθὴ λόγον, that is, a true discourse. So one<sup>1</sup> called his works κέραμα πλείας, *idest, the horne of abundance*, albeit very barren. So *Lucian* called his fabulous lies, *a true historie*. so another called his booke βιβλιοθηκὴν, or a *librarie*. The Papists call their fabulous narrations of their Saints liues, *the golden legend*, and so M. *Throkmorton* giueth to his letter the title of *defence against Slanders*, albeit it conteine it selfe litle trueth, and many slanderous and reprochfull accusations. Looke therefore on his discourse, and not on the title, both discourse and title being like to a smokie and darke lodging, that hath a gallant portall, and if you find nothing sufficient to iustifie this title, then iudge who it is that hath vttered lies and slanders. This in the meane while may serue to conuince this

<sup>1</sup> *Aulus Gell.*  
*lib. 20. c. ult.*



*An answer vnto*

▪ M. Throk. doth  
not so much as  
alledge any one  
word of mine,  
whereby it may  
appeare that he  
is slandered.

title of vntueth, and the authour thereof of slander, that in all his discourse<sup>1</sup> he doeth not so much as in one word, nor with any one good argument iustifie his imputation against me. if he had but set downe my wordes, as they were written, they must needes haue cleared me. Now that he chargeth me in generall termes, and setteth downe no speciall wordes nor matter, what doeth he, but conuince himselfe? must not then, thinke you, this proue a braue worke, that is all built without foundation? Another vntueth is this, that he saith the letter was written *to an honourable personage*. For who can thinke that any wise, or sensible man would trouble any honourable, or worshipful man or woman with such paltry toyes? or els that any such, would like or fauour any such reprochfull course of writing against men vknownen? Furthermore, it is not the fashion, or stile of good Secretaries to write such tedious letters. and to conclude, it is not probable that any honorable personage is desirous to heare me reprovued, or any dealings betwixt *M. Throckmorton* & me examined. But all this was to let vs know, that he is gracious with Ladies, and honourable personages, & as it were a special fauourite of theirs. especially the two Ladies called *discipline* and *reformation*. The third vntueth is this, that he calleth those matters wherewith he skirmisheth, *slanders*. for first, no man is wont or properly said to slander himselfe. but all that is here obiectioned is *M. Throckmortons* own obiection. and secondly, albeit he maketh his match at his pleasure, and setteth downe nothing, but what himselfe listeth, yet is he therewith so entangled & pestred, that his Lady to whom he wrote (no doubt) had great comiseration of his pitiful case, and all his friends are sory and ashamed to see him by his owne rashnes so dangerously & so farre engaged. glad I am therefore that he hath written these fooleries, and testified them with his owne hand writing. otherwise it was much to be feared, lest he would haue renounced & disclaimed his owne act and doing. which notwithstanding is so fond, foolish, & presumptuous, that nothing can be deuised more like the author. But for more securitie I would he had not only set to his hand, but scale also. for it appeareth that he vtterly abandoneth *Martin* epistles, the treatise called *Some in his colours*, and some other such like pamphlets, which by good prooffe and common report



report are testified to be his. Pamphlets, I say, generally misliked for their ribaldry & scurrilie, and contemned for their vnufficiencie, and yet not much vnlike to his letter to this lady.

These are faults inough to be contained in so few words: and yet these are not all. There is yet behind more, a capitall error able to ouerthrow any title, & that is this. That most of his worke is beside his title; & not vnlike as if a botcher should cut out six quarters to a coate, or worke beside his paterne, & without his measure, for pretending only to defend himselfe: that is, the left part of all his labor. he rather studieth to charge me, & especially to discharge *M. Egerton, Th. Cartw.* & others. In the whole he so losely defendeth himself, & excuseth others, as if he cared not though himselfe were well buffeted, so his friends might escape vntouched. To haue done well, hee should haue entituled his booke, *A defence of Throk. and others, together with a bundle of ridiculous and slanderous accusations against Matth. Sutcliffe.* But what should I teach him to write, that is now to stiffe to bow, & to opinionatiue to learne, and too dul to conceiue any goodnes? now we see how hee hath bedecked the front of his booke with three prouerbiall sentences.

Throkmorton.

*The talke of the vngodly is how they may lay waite for blood, but the mouth of the righteous will deliuer him.* Pro. 20. 6.

*Seest thou a man that is hastie to speake vnadvisedly? there is more hope of a foole, then of him.* Pro. 29. 20.

*There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, & their iawes as kniues to deuoure the poore and afflicted from the earth.* Pro. 38. 14.

Matth. Sutcliffe.

These sentences as they are set downe by Salomon, we confesse are true and good: for they proceed frō the spirit of trueth, sanctification and goodnesse. but as they are set downe by him, there is a litle error in the quotation of the first, that is taken not out of the 20, but the 12 of the Prouerbes, and some fault in the translation of the 2, and 3. In the second hee hath translated *as Bidbarain*, hastie to speake vnadvisedly. whereas *vnadvisedly* is redundant, and *hastie to speake*, is put for *hastie in all matters.* for

These three sentences were set vnder the title of the booke.

אין  
בדבריו



מחלעתו

so the word in Hebrew signifieth, and the holy ghost speaking generally meant, & the Geneva translation hath turned. In the third he hath turned *iawes* where the Hebrew hath *great teeth*, and where the Hebrew hath to eate vp the afflicted from the earth, and the poore from among men, as also hath the Geneva translation, he hath turned to deuour the poore and afflicted from the earth, not attaining to the significant wordes of the Hebrew.

But these faults are pardonable in him that vnderstood not the Hebrew, and for hast looked not neerely enough to the words of the translation. A greater fault by farre, is committed in the application of them; for therein it appeareth that he wickedly and vnruly abused them to his purpose. hee taketh himselfe to be among the number of the righteous, *whose mouth will deliuer them*. and yet doeth he still stand indited for entermedling in the libels published vnder the name of *Martin*, and for flandering her Maiestie and her gouernement, neither was his mouth then able to deliuer him, nor any fauour hee could procure sufficient to cleare him. Hee taketh himselfe to be poore and afflicted, but his scorneful tongue, his proud heart, and gallantry, sheweth the contrary, and the great fauour done him, in that law was not folowed against him, doeth testifie that he is rather extraordinarily fauoured, then afflicted. on the other side he applieth the wordes of the holy ghost, speaking of y<sup>e</sup> vngodly that lie in waite for blood, to the Iudges, Iurie, and witnesses that sought his blood, as he imagineth. I know none els who sought his hurt or losse. Where hee speaketh of men hastie in wordes, and of fooles, and men of great malice and crueltie, all that he would of his great fauour couey ouer to his aduersaries, for answer, let him heare what God saith to men of his sort in the 50. Psalme. *What hast thou to doe, saith he, to talke of my statutes, or to take my couenant in thy mouth?* Next, let him consider what a grieuous offence it is to detort the wordes of the holy Ghost contrary to his meaning. Further hee is to vnderstand, that these wordes doe very well fit himselfe, a man neither in words nor deeds very staied, and his confortes that are barbarous in crueltie where they can ouercome, as many particulars declare; very rigorous and vnmmercifull towards the poore, and those



those with whom they deale; most hastie & foolish in beginning needlesse controuersies, and most spitefull and malicious in railing and backbiting whom they mislike. The epistles of *Martin*, and other such scurrilous pamphlets hereof giue testimonie, and their chiefe patrons of that cause if need be, shall be witnesses *omni exceptione maiores*: for I trust that *M. Throk-morton* will not now discredite their authenticall writings. if he will compare our doings with theirs, there will appeare nothing in ours, but commendable dealing.

*M. Throk-morton*, *Udall*, and the busie Cobler, that without merite had fauour, can witnesse the great clemencie of their aduersaries. *M. Throk-morton* in a certaine<sup>1</sup> letter seemeth to acknowledge it; and *M. Cartwright* and his companions will not I thinke deny it. Our writings are in defence, we challenge none, we presse none, we prosecute none. if any take themselues to be rudely handled, they be base, lewd, presumptuous, malepert, seditious persons; which notwithstanding heare not halfe so much as they deserue. Let therefore *M. Throk-morton* if hee haue any, either graine of wit or modestie, cease to complaine, where he is most faultie himselfe, let him folow his vocation if any he haue, and maintaine the reputation of his place, and leaue off to write defenses, libels, and letters, wherein he hath no skil; to reforme the Church he is most vnfit, being himselfe and his company most deformed and disordered. Scriptures do euil sit in his mouth that is possessed with such a giddie spirite; and being abused, doe testifie against the abuser, rather then the aduersarie.

Next to these three verses should haue bene set the name of the Printer, and the place where the letter was printed, but that is quite omitted to let you vnderstand, that this was a worke of darknesse that cannot abide the light, the workes of *M. Throk-* are for the most part chamber works, and celler works, workes vnder the ground and infernall; so false coiners & wicked conspirators are wont to worke and contriue their matters. The stuffe is like to bad and counterfeit merchandise that hath not the name nor marke of the workman, nor can well abide the light. to looke no longer for the Printer, let vs see now how gloriously *M. Throk-morton* beginneth, and how he falleth, as himselfe afterward saith of *Hacket*, to his sword and buckler.

<sup>1</sup> To my lord of Canterb. whom he desireth to mediate his peace with her Maiestie.

There is no place where, nor time when this letter was printed, set downe,



*An answer vnto*

Throkmorton.

Good Madam, I thinke my selfe much bound vnto your Ladiship, that you would vouchsafe to make some pause, and to suspend your iudgement, before you passed any absolute verdict against me.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Although I see no cause why I should commend *M. Throk.* being as one said of <sup>1</sup> *Attilius*, <sup>2</sup> *an iron & hard writer*, and which is worse of a hard heart, and forehead, and no way deseruing ought at my hands; yet can I not chuse but commend his wit in this, that hee bringeth his matters in triall before a meeke and gentle Lady. for first if she had not bene a pitiful woman, his letter without questiō had gone into the pastry: where it might haue done good seruice to keepe pepper in, being it selfe of a pretie biting qualitie. Againe, it is better to contend in paper before Ladies, then at th' assises before Iudges. there is no pleasure in the sight of xij. men, nor in the hearing of their verdict, or the Iudges sentence. falsehood, and cunning is there disclosed. and Iudges speake sometimes roughly. and the barre of fauour is farre more easie then the barre of iudgement. all this needeth no prooffe. *M. Throkmorton* knoweth it by experience. Thirdly it may be, that this party meaneth cunningly, if he be condemned by a Lady to appeale from her sentence *tanquam nulla*, for want of authoritie. thus euery way he prouideth for himselfe, that he may not be hurt. for otherwise I dare say, hee would be loth to come in trial. Howbeit if the man meane good faith, and purpose in deede to abide the hammering of matters, hee must come forth in iudgement, not write in corners; he must appeare at the Bench, not declaim from his alebench, and be acquitted by xij. men, and not one woman. Women doe seldome giue in verdicts vpon such matters, & that not one or two, but twelue. and yet so long hath this Lady paused and suspended her iudgement, that for any thing is knowen he may yet be condemned and suspended by her doome. for if in 3. or 4. yeeres hee be not acquitted, it is (no doubt) some cause of weight that maketh her stay. if she had bene a woman hard harted, she had ere this condemned him *a la hart*.

Throkmorton.

*It is much I cōfesse in this swift censuring and <sup>3</sup>præiudicial age*  
of

<sup>1</sup> *Cic. de finib. 1.*  
<sup>2</sup> *Ferrens scrip-*  
*tor.*

<sup>3</sup> Note præiudi-  
cial age, for  
foreiudging.



*of ours, wherein mens wils and affections stand for Statutes.*

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Why he should cōdemne this our age more then any other, I see no reason. especially seeing y<sup>e</sup> same so fauorably doth suffer to passe so many fooleries & trifling pamphlets, dialogues, epistles, & protestations. so strange diuinitie as that of *Fenners*, and such voluminous and tedious replies, as those of *M. Cartw.* yea many scurrilous, & vilanous libels as those of *Martin.* as for this letter I doe not thinke that any age could euer suffer it to passe with approbatiō, being for matter calumnious, for want of good contriuing tedious, & for want of wit and iudgment ridiculous. to speake nothing of mens writings, but of mens maners, do we not see many lewd persons escape the censures of good men? and go not hypocrites oftentimes for religious *profelytes*? is not scorning & railing sometimes praised for zeale and consistorian deuotion? when *M. Throk.* himselfe was endited at *Warwicke*, neither did the Iury proceed swiftly, nor was it wil or affection that moued them to indite him, but good law & reason: as shall well appeare hereafter. Nay, statutes & law were not his friends; wil and affectiō drew him out of the briers, & withdrew that iudgment that hanged ouer him, if mercy had not holpen him. if any men in the world be ruled by affection rather then law, it is the churchaldermen, which wrest al to serue their owne turnes, and iudge that best law, that best fitteth their humors. In the consistory is censuring, & preiudice and yet wil I not cal it *preiudicial*, for that the same vseth foreiudgement, as doth *M. Throk.* who must be taught to speake English, but *preiudicial*, that is, dangerous both to the Church and state.

*Throkmorton.*

*Seeing then you are so desirous to know the trueth, I will not, I assure you, hide any thing from you, that I can call to minde.*

*M. Sutcliffe.*

*Seeing then, saith M. Throck,* and yet for any thing formerly said, there appeareth no matter to be seene. so that most vnlearnedly the man hath concluded without any premisses, and hath like an vnskilfull musicion made a *praludium* that is not fitted to the rest of his discourse. bad musicke we shall haue as it should



## An answer vnto

seeme, when the song discordeth from the *praludium*, the discourse from the entrance, to digest this with patience, yet that is a harder point, that he promiseth, *to declare whatsoeuer he can call to minde.* and yet as the sequele wil declare, he performeth nothing. His conferences with *Wigginton* concerning *Hacket* and *Copinger*, likewise his secret intentions, & hope, his night meetings, and priuy whisperings are quite conceled. this is the assurance wee are to looke for, and the certeintie of *Throckmortons* assurance, that assuredly hee meaneth to tell vs many tales and improbable narrations.

Throckmorton,

*And howsoeuer for want of memory (things being passed so long agoe) I may happely faile in some wordes, time or circumstance that are not materiall, I dare<sup>1</sup> auow vnto your La. that for the<sup>2</sup> substance of the thing it selfe, there is no vntrueth in it at all. but euen that which I will iustifie vpon mine othe, if I should be thereunto called before the<sup>3</sup> Parliament, or before the Lords: which for my better clearing herein (being by this false and slanderous<sup>4</sup> accusation so much iniuried as I am) is the thing I doe desire, protesting vnto you, that I was so farre from being acquainted with any of the leud practises of Hacket and his<sup>5</sup> accomplices (as M. Sutcliffe and the<sup>6</sup> pretended conspiracie would seeme to insinuate) that I doe not remember that euer I did so much as<sup>7</sup> see the man aboue once in my life.*

M. Sutcliffe.

After much adoe, and often breathing we are now come to the end of this sentence, if we may cal that a sentence, that hath in it so many fragments, and pieces of sentences, the first point maketh for vs, where he confesseth *he may faile in words and circumstances,* which (out of doubt) he maketh good in most of this Epistolical libell, the next would make somewhat for him, if that were true which he auoweth, *that in the substance of pleading there were no vntrueth in it at all.* But how should we trust him vpon his vow or his oathe, when neither vowes nor othes nor protestations can serue to cleare offenders in capital crimes? besides this experience teacheth, and the answeres of diuers of this sect declare that they litle regard othes. and doe ye thinke

it like

<sup>1</sup> But doe not.  
<sup>2</sup> And why? because forsooth it hath no substance.  
<sup>3</sup> And wil no other Iudges serue?  
<sup>4</sup> What accusations  
<sup>5</sup> We say in English complices.  
<sup>6</sup> Was it then onely pretended, and was Hacket executed for pretended matter?  
<sup>7</sup> He would not see the man; but well might he know his practises notwithstanding.



it like that these men will take themselves obliged by promise, whom no bondes of Lawe, nor duetie can restraine? but saith he *I will iustifie it vpon mine othe, if I should be called thereunto before the Parliament, or the Lords.* Very wisely said. for in case neither the Parliament, nor the Lords do call him to iustifie this declaration on his oth, then he taketh himselfe quite discharged not onely from swearing, but also from declaring trueth. but may no Iudges nor Iustices nor other her Maiesties officers and subiects serue to tender him an othe but the Lordes and other states of the Parliament, or the Lords of her Maiesties counsell? what histrionicall king haue we here, that disclayming all ordinary course of iustice will needes be tried by the Parliament, or the Princes counsell? or what great cause is this that may not be heard nor discussed by any but Lords, and that which is aboue Lords? all this is nothing els but vnder colour of offering an othe, to refuse an oth. For he that offereth that which cannot be accepted, offereth not, but rather denieth. and so doeth *M. Throckmorton* to, for al his faire pretence. who if he should be called to answer vpon his othe would no doubt sing the cuckoos song of the *Puritans* that say, *No man is bound to accuse himselfe, and that othes ex officio* (for so they call them) *are not to be enforced, nor taken.* In the meane while to make a faire shew, he would insinuate the cōtrary, and why? forsooth, *because as he saith, he is iniuried by this false and slanderous accusation.* what accusation? he mentioneth none. Is not he then a wise fellow, that talketh of an accusation, and yet setteth downe neither the wordes, nor effect of any accusation? where is this falshood and slander that he talketh of? nay where is the accusation? and to speake neerer to him, where was his braine when he calculated this Saturnical or rather Satyrical letter? It may be he meaneth some one that charged him as guiltie of *Hackets* treasons; but who it is, I know not. it is not I, neither the author of the discourse of *Hackets* conspiracie, which I wonder why he calleth pretended cōspiracie: vnlesse he meane to excuse *Hacket*, that was condemned and executed for treason, and as he hath done in himselfe, so likewise will goe about to refute and reprocue the proceedings of Lawe in others also? neither of vs doe charge or accuse the man of any such matter, only I aske certaine questions

<sup>1</sup> Petition to her Maiestie, and answers of certaine of this sect in the Starre chamber.



*An answer vnto*

and in that discourse there are certaine suspicions interiected; and in neither of our writings shall he be able to shew any vntueth or wrong done vnto him. Why did he not therefore leaue his tragicall and church-aldermannicall exclamations of *false, and slanderous, and iniurie*, and set down the words wherein these faults should be committed? it is he that doeth himselfe wrong and not we, vnlesse he can prooue his words true. for my part I doe require no other argument of *Throkmortons* wrong, then that accusing me of wrong and slander, hee doeth not so much as declare the same, nor auerre it by one word of mine, or other good argument.

If any man say as doeth *Throk*, that we insinuate that he was acquainted with *Hackers* lewd practises. I answer first, that there is great difference betwixt insinuation and accusation. He & his partisans haue insinuated many bad matters, yet we call them not accusers; next, that it is one thing to aske a question, another thing to insinuate. Not euery one that asketh a question doeth insinuate that to be true wherein he desireth to be resolved. Finally, that albeit some had insinuated that hee had bene acquainted with *Hackers* lewd practises, yet therein he hath no wrong, nor is slandered, as shal appeare both by his own words and diuers presumptions; nay, in this place, where he should auoid the substance of that which is by himselfe obiected, his reason is so insufficient, that he seemeth to confesse himselfe guilty. *I was not* (quoth he) *acquainted with Hackers practises?* And why? *I neuer saw him*, saith hee, *that I remember but once in my life*. As if a man might not be acquainted with treasons, neuer seeing the principall actor, or as if once were not sufficient to vnderstand treason to hang more then one. It is an olde saying, like with like will easily bee acquainted, and birdes of a feather soone sort together. What auaieth it him therefore to protest, when hauing libertie to speake what he listed, yet hee did not say any thing sufficient to auoid that which himselfe obiected? and how will he answere others, that cannot answere himselfe? thus you see how brauely he will satisfie the lordes, that can say iust nothing before a lady, that of shamefastnesse blusheth to heare his most miserable pleading.

In his wordes there are these gaules, hee deuideth time and circum-

*Pares cum paribus  
facillime  
congregantur.*



circumstance, as if time were no circumstance; he counter-diuideth substance and circumstance, as other his coparteners doe, as if diuers circumstances were not most materiall: or as if the circumstance of *Hacket's* person, and the time and maner of the secret conferences that passed betwixt *Hacket* and him, were nothing materiall, he calleth complices, accomplices. lastly, as if *Hacket* had entended no conspiracie, but all was forged and deuised that was obiected against him; hee calleth his practise *Pretended conspiracie*, and yet forsooth this man will needs pretend great loialtie and fidelitie.

Throckmorton.

*As for Copinger, (though I confesse I had heard of him before by my cosine Middlemore that<sup>1</sup> dead is, who had in part descried unto me the humor of the man, & the<sup>2</sup> sicknesse of his braine) yet the first time that euer I saw him, or had any acquaintance with him, was on a Sabbath in Hillarie terme before his fall, 1590. at which time meeting him at the<sup>3</sup> Blacke friers in the afternoone, when the lecture was done, he called me aside, telling mee that he would gladly speake with me, that his name was Copinger. I<sup>4</sup> asked him what kinne he was to M. Ambrose Copinger that serued sometime the Earle of Warwike; he sayd his owne brother, I told him I loued him the better for that, and so he would needes drawe me on with him to his lodging.*

<sup>1</sup> All the witnesses that should cleare Throk. are dead and out of the world.  
<sup>2</sup> Throk. letters prooue that he made a better accompt of him then this.  
<sup>3</sup> Are such practises hatched there?  
<sup>4</sup> What skilleth it what bald talk passed betwixt them two?

*M. Sutcliffe.*

That which is by himselfe obiected concerning dealings with *Hacket*, *M. Throckmorton* thinketh he hath clearly wiped away, by saying *he neuer saw the man but once*; the weaknesse of which answere hath bene sufficiently alreedy discouered. Now he would likewise answere such arguments and suspicious coniectures as may be drawen from his acquaintance and familiaritie with *Copinger* a principall assistant of the prophet of confistoriall discipline *Hacket*. and therefore doeth make vs a long and tedious narration of matters passed betwixt them two, but so simplie, as that rather he doeth aggrauate, then lighten that suspicious conceit which his friends haue of him. He confesseth that he was acquainted with *Copinger*, and reuealeth some secret conferences passed betwixt them. he denieth not but that

*Copinger*



*An answer vnto*

2 That this was meant, appeareth by their dangerous positions and practises.

*Copinger* told him of the overthrow of bishops, & expelling of dumbe ministers all at one clap; a matter that without sedition and tumult by such means as *Copinger* could vse, could not be effected. no doubt that was the<sup>1</sup> clap which *Copinger* spoke of. to shew his discontentment, he mentioneth his troubles & enditement. that appeareth to be the cause why *Copinger* hoped to win him, and sought to be acquainted with him. that they were both of one humour, and did easily agree together, is manifested, for that their meeting was at the blacke Friers, and that vpon some few speeches they plotted their deuises, & presently fell to pray together, and that in vehement sort: percase to this effect, that God would giue successe to their deuises and attempts for their discipline.

He goeth yet further & telleth vs how he delt with M. *Cartwright* concerning *Copinger*, & afterward notwithstanding his pretended dissuasions, that hee diuers times had dealing with him; which sheweth that *Copingers* causes had taken a very deepe impressiō in him; neither doeth he deny, but that hee perused all *Copingers* notes and letters, and gaue him counsell and direction. counsell I say, not to desist (for then he would no more haue come at him) but to be assured of good ground, that like foolish builders he did not begin a busines which he should not be able to atchieue.

He confesseth likewise, that he wrote letters to *Copinger*, and receiued letters from him, which doe argue great familiaritie, and a strict colligation and concurrence in matters that are not there mentioned. Last of all it is euident, that by *Copingers* meanes he came acquainted with *Hacket* and *Arthington*, and prayed with them; he saith to common ends, but if men speake not to men without speciall purpose; we may not thinke, that this extraordinarie prayer to God was vndertaken without any speciall intention and purpose.

Adde here vnto his own words to *Copinger*, in his letters exhorting him, & al that be are good wil to the holy cause, to take both their eyes in their handes, that is, to doe nothing, but that they plot it wisely before. Adde also his factious maner of writing diuers libels and scurrilous pamphlets for the aduancement of the same cause, and his familiar acquaintance with *Wigginton*, a principall



pall actor in *Hackets* practises, and his speciall acquaintance and chiefe warrant : which acquaintance is acknowledged in his letters to *Copinger*. beside this, consider the concurrencie in fasting and prayer betwixt *I. Throkmorton*, *Copinger*, *T. Cartw. V. dal*, *Lancaster*, and the Consistorial faction. and finally that hearing of these suspicious if not seditious courses, he neuer opened his mouth to declare them to officers of iustice. these things ioy-  
ned together and considered, who can doubt but that *Throkmorton* did well know, yea and like of any course that the sayd *Copinger* or his consorts would, or purposed to vndertake, either for the deliuerance of captiued malcontent ministers (which is a beginning of rebellion) or for the ouerthrow of the Ecclesiastical state, or the establistment of the Consistorie.

Neither doeth his discourse written in his defence any whit relieue him, or excuse him. he saith, *that he had heard before of M. Middlemore of the mans humor and of his discrased braine.* but it appeareth he found it contrary. for otherwise hee would not haue associated himselfe vnto him. and suppose that his braine had bene cracked, yet do not the Consistorians therefore refuse such kinde of men. *Wigginton*, and *Standen* had in their sculs greater crackes, then this commeth to, and yet hath there bene no smal reckening made of them. yea all traitors that desperatly hazard themselves haue defects in their braine, yet none excuseth them, or those that folow them. and greater cōmiseration in wise mens conceit had *Throkmorton* deserued if he had followed a wise fellow, then a mad man. but were hee wise or not wise, it is not greatly materiall. the question is whether *Throkmorton* was acquainted with his practises. and that he was, himselfe will tell vs.

First he sheweth how he came acquainted with him, he specifieth the time & place, and telleth what words passed at their first greeting. the place was at *M. Egertons* chapell in the blacke Friers. the time was on the Lords day. both time and place euil chosen to begin any euil practise, and yet fitting the humors of some men best, which vnder colour of preaching, fasting, and keeping the Saboth day, do consult vpon, & plot many dangerous defeignements. the words were as they are set downe, not worth the rehearsing. what should you be cumbred with idle



## An answer vnto

but that no other occasion was offered of acquaintance, then this, or that no other wordes passed then these, who will beleeue? very absurd it was that either *Copinger* should so open himselfe vnto a man vnknownen, or that a man of vnderstanding such as *M. Throckmorton* taketh himselfe to bee, should goe with a stranger without cause to his lodging. But let vs heare what passed by the way.

Throckmorton.

*By the way as we went he asked me sundry questions concerning my trouble, and the matter of my indictment, and how I spedde. I told him I hoped well, the rather because mine heart was a witnesse to mee of mine innocencie. and then he fell frō that to other matters. wherein he made me remember my cousine Middlemore his words. for me thought he began to talke somewhat wildely and<sup>2</sup> strangely of the overthrowe of the Bishops, and th' expelling of dumbe ministers all at one clap, with sundry other reeling vagaries without sence, whereof I<sup>3</sup> can not now call to minde euery particular. But this among the rest I will remēber, that he told me he was in good hope ere it were long to bring my Lord Treasurer about to like of his deuise, vnto which effect hee said he had written to his honor of late, and looked for answer shortly. vnto all which (musing with my selfe that he would thus boldly rush upon these matters, especially to a man that hee<sup>4</sup> neuer saw before) I said litle. only I wished that in so great and weighty affaires as those, he would be sure of his ground & warrant before he<sup>5</sup> attempted any thing, and do nothing of his owne head without th' aduise of those that<sup>6</sup> were wise and feared God. I warrant you (saith hee) I will be sure of my ground, I will looke to that.*

<sup>1</sup> Was he innocent that with his owne hand wrote a great part of that treasonable libel called more worke for Cooper? or that framed the seditious pamphlets set out vnder the name of Martin?

<sup>2</sup> This was wont to be the Puritans common talke.

<sup>3</sup> Nay he dare not tell his dangerous talke in that conference.

<sup>4</sup> But well did he know his humour.

<sup>5</sup> Hee would then haue him attempt but not

without ground, <sup>6</sup> Viz. G. Wigginton. M. Egerton. Th. Cartwr. as that side beleeueth.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

The purpose of *M. Throk.* in this his narration of his first meeting, and confabulation with *Copinger*, is to cleare himselfe of all suspicions of any practise against the state, interteined with him. and yet such is the force of trueth, that his owne declaration doth augment the suspicion greatly. he saith as you haue heard, that *Copinger* singled him out of the cōpany at the *blacke Friers*, without hauing any acquaintance with him before, or commendation



mendation of any friend to make an entrance to this future league of friendship. and that himselfe was presently content to goe with him to his lodging. a matter without reason or cause. Now he confesseth that *Copinger* tolde him, *that the Bishops should bee ouerthrowen, and dumbe Ministers expelled all at one clappe.* Wherein manifestly appeareth, that *Throkmorton* was made acquainted with one of their speciall purposes. and I doubt not, if not in plaine termes, yet vnder couert wordes he vnderstood of the meanes. and if nothing had bene declared vnto him, yet might any man perceiue that *Copinger* had no other meanes then by tumult, and rebellion. Neither will it auaille him, that hee tooke these as wilde and strange speeches proceeding from a madde man, induced thereto by remembrance of *M. Middlemores* wordes. For if all that haue talked of the ouerthrow of Bishops and the Ecclesiasticall government, were to be reputed as madde men, *Bedlem* if it were thrise so great would not holde them. That *Copinger* was not madde, not onely his sober demeanour, but euen *M. Throkmorton* himselfe, who I thinke vseth not to frequent madde mens company doeth testifie. Neither is it likely that is here set downe, that *Copinger* at this time had written to my Lord Treasourer: and *Throkmorton* will tell vs in further processe of his letter, that the letters were yet to send.

Further he denieth not, but that *Copinger* ranne out into many sundry other reeling vagaries. Now who doubteth whether in these vagaries there was not much talke of her Maiestie and the state, which this man is very loth to vtter? for any thing that wee see in these outcourses, they ranne out into much vnductifull talke, and conferred of those matters that were then in brewing against the state. for why should else *Copinger* single him out of the preasse, and desire to talke with him?

To declare that *Throkmorton* was a man discontent, and fit to be wrought, his enditement and trouble is here mentioned. he would be loth that any man should thinke him to be a man vncapable of those impressions which *Copinger* went about to imprint and settle in him. why should hee else mention those matters, but to let vs vnderstand that hee was a fitte man to be associated vnto him? neither doe I thinke had *Copinger* cause



## An answer vnto

<sup>1</sup> That appeareth by the whole processe of his Martinisme, hereafter inserted.

to feare to breake with him, considering what a hot brained fellow he was, or *Throckmorton* cease to muse, or that it was true that he did muse. for hauing of long time sworne <sup>1</sup> enmitie against the Ecclesiasticall state, as *Anniball* did against the *Romanes*, it is not to be doubted but that hee sought to ouerthrow the same, and most gladly embraced all practises tending to that ende.

Finally least any man might make doubt whether *Throckmorton* did like of *Copingers* deuise or no, his words and doings declare his contentment therein. hearing him speake of the ouerthrow of Bishops, he seemed to care but litle for the trouble of the state, but onely of the safetie of T.C. and himselfe, and the common cause. he neuer reprobued him, he neuer detected his purpose to any magistrate, he neuer dissuaded him from taking any such violent massacring course. Nay, hee gaue him aduise, and willed him to aske aduise of others, and to bee sure of his ground, and hearing *Copinger* affirme that hee was, rested satisfied, and so entered into his lodging, and there prayed with him. Of which you shall heare *M. Throckmorton*s owne report.

### Throckmorton.

*When he came to his lodging, he tolde me it was a day of<sup>2</sup> private fast with him, and thereupon was very importunate with mee to haue prayed. which when I refused because (as I tolde him) I would bee loth to take any such thing in hand vpon a sudden without prameditation, hee casting mee a cushion to kneele on, fell himselfe to pray after his maner. A thing wherein my cousin Middlemore had tolde mee before he tooke a singuler<sup>3</sup> delight, hauing some conceite and opinion of his gift that way.*

*Loth I am (my good Lady) to bee an<sup>4</sup> ouerswift and hastie censurer of any mans prayer, especially in this colde and<sup>5</sup> prophane age of ours, wherein men let not<sup>6</sup> blasphemously to scorne and deride, as it were, the very giftes and graces of Gods Spirite. But if I shall tell you simply and plainly what I thinke, this prayer of M. Copingers (though it were full of outward zeale and feruentnesse, if not too feruent because hee used many of these obes, lowde sighes and gronings, when as I conceined the matter in weight, did nothing answere those patheticall outcries) was not mee thought squared*

<sup>2</sup> This fast fasteth, when other Christians reioyce, and in this and other exercises cut themselves from the rest of Christs flocke.

<sup>3</sup> More delight then deuotion,

<sup>4</sup> Yet none more hastie or presumptuous in censuring their superiors.

<sup>5</sup> When Martins scurrilous libels are so wel liked.

<sup>6</sup> None more blasphemous or scornefull then Martin, and that packe of raylers.



squared after the rule of knowledge, neither in<sup>1</sup> methode, matter, nor maner, nor yet sanouring of that humilitie and discretion, as were to be wished in so zelous a professor, as he made shew of. it was very long and tedious<sup>2</sup> pestered with many impertinent discourses, and needlesse repetitions of one and the same thing, stuffed and enterlarded with sundry bitter imprecations, about which hee and I had no small adoe, and some hote bickering within a while after; but the issue was, that hauing caught<sup>3</sup> some colde, and being not well before this long kneeling, and late tarying in that snowy and frostie season, did not helpe any whit to diminish, but rather to encrease my grieffe, and brought me to a<sup>4</sup> fit of an ague.

<sup>1</sup> As if methode contained no matter nor maner.

<sup>2</sup> Are not the praiers of the malcontent de-formers of this fashion?

<sup>3</sup> His braine and wit had taken cold.

<sup>4</sup> It seemeth he is not yet out of his fit,

M. Sutcliffe,

When after many wandering discourses wherewith he interteined him by the way, Copinger had brought Throk Morton to his lodging, I did looke to heare what discourses did then passe betwixt them, and I doe belecue reading his letter, so did you to, but that was not his profit to declare; and therefore telling vs his odde censure of Copingers praiers, he returneth to his owne lodging, leauing behind him two great presumptions against himselfe: the first, that he dare not declare vnto vs their chamber talke: the second, that whatsoever they concluded vpon, they either ended, or began with prayer. for to imagine that they talked of nothing when they taried so long together in the cold, is a point very ridiculous to imagine; and againe to pray to no purpose, is rather mockery then prayer. Plaine therefore it is, that they talked of dangerous practises which Throk Morton dare not vtter, and that both liked that well for which both prayed, neither can Throk Morton shift off the matter by mentioning M. Middlemore which is a common practise of his albeit to litle purpose, nor by saying that he misliked his imprecations, nor by giuing his censure vpon his praiers. for it is an easie matter when a man is condemned and throwen downe to tread vpon him, and to speake euill of the dead. at that time he<sup>5</sup> neither misliked the man, nor his praier; and if he did, why did he ioine with a mad man vpon such a sodaine? and why did he not leaue him, seeing his extreme vanitie?

<sup>5</sup> That is euident by Throkmortons and Copingers most affectionate letters each to other.

Besides that, this discourse doth rather condemn M. Throk-



*morton* then cleare him of that he supposeth to be imputed vnto him, there are other things woorthy to be noted. First, that the disciplinarian side seldom or neuer fasteth, when by publike order of the church, men are enioined to fast, but rather the when antiquitie vsed not to fast. wherein what doe they but declare themselves repugnant both to order & all antiquitie? the ancient<sup>1</sup> canons of the Apostles forbid to fast the Lords day,<sup>2</sup> *Ignatius* pronounced him guiltie of the Lords death that fasted that day,<sup>3</sup> *Epiphanius* excepteth the Lords day from fasting. yea, they that religiously kept Lent, yet were not wont then to obserue the Lordes day fasting. for which cause also many misliked the Saterdaies fast.<sup>4</sup> *S. Augustine* saith, that customes of antiquity & the fashions of Gods people are to be obserued for law, where the scripture hath prescribed no certain rule. but these men swim against the streame, and as if their heart lay ouerthwart, so are they in all their doings ouerthwart, to whom wee say with the Apostle, *that we haue no such custome, nor the churches of God.* Secondly, while they haue condemned a prescript forme of praier, yea, & denied some of the Lords praier & the vse of it, commending & liking those praiers best that were vttered vpon the sodaine, they haue opened a gap to diuers conceited felowes to frame many wicked imprecations & execrations in stead of praiers, & to make praier an instrument of malice, rather then deuotion. yea, they haue turned praying into vaine babling & iangling, to the great scandale of Gods church. This<sup>6</sup> abuse a certain council of Carthage going about to remedy, forbade ministers, much more priuate men, to reherse praiers at the holy communion table, before they had bene allowed by the learned, & the reuerence & grauitie that ought to be vsed in praier, sheweth the vanity of extemporal praiers. yea, *Throk* himselfe alloweth not praiers made without premeditation. But he marketh not how this his censure reacheth to the condemnation of his deare brethren, & others of the societie of deformation, whose feruent & hote zeale without knowledge, redoubled ohs, deep sighs, gogled eies, rude groning, or rather braying, pathetical outcries, vaine tautologies, often repetitions, impertinent talking, is most odious. Euē *M. Throk* himselfe condemneth most of these things. and yet is he but a soft censurer that could not pray nor kneele without

<sup>1</sup> Ca. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. ad Philip.

<sup>3</sup> Hares. 21. & 42

<sup>4</sup> Epist. ad Casulan.

<sup>5</sup> 1. Cor. II.

<sup>6</sup> Concil. Carth. 3. c. 23.



without a cushion. Thirdly this faction alloweth priuate men to powre out their fancies, wherein are many abuses: disagreement in matters wherein we ought to consent; praier made contrary to the rule of faith, yea, & to good maners, contempt of publike praier, pride in praier suddenly conceiued. the folly wherof *M. Throk.* may see in himself well punished, hauing caught an ague by his long & cold praier. such praier he calleth enterlarded, for that commonly his consorts make long praier at meat, well enterlarded with good cheare, of which foloweth surfet, and of surfet many dangerous sicknesses.

Yet would I not haue *M. Throk.* condemne this age for prophane, in that it misliketh the Puritans irreuerent & immodest praier. the gifts of the holy Ghost do seldom worke in men of y<sup>e</sup> sort, nor any time doth Gods spirit inspire such praier, as often they vse to make. If the they wil not be generally condemned, let them leaue their hypocritical gestures and vaine babblings in their praier, and submit themselues to the orders of Christ his church. If not, they heare *Throk.* censure, who wisely condemneth methode, matter, and maner of such praier, and warneth you to take heed you catch no agues by your long kneeling and fasting, and aboue all to beware of snowy and frosty deuotion.

Throkmorton.

*Not long after this, when I had something recovered my selfe, I went to visite M. Cartw. in the Fleete, vnto whom I<sup>1</sup> signified what had passed betwixt M. Copinger & me, & of the new acquaintance he would needs fasten & enforce vpon me. but he bade me in any wise<sup>2</sup> beware & take heed of him. for he feared him greatly that certainly all was not well with him, and that he had læsum principium, at the least, telling me how faine hee would haue propounded and fastened some of his fooleries and reuelations vpon him. but saith he, I haue returned him such an<sup>3</sup> answer, as, I beleue, he will not greatly like of, neither seeke to me in haste for<sup>4</sup> resolution.*

<sup>1</sup> You see how *M. Cartw.* had intelligence of all these matters.

<sup>2</sup> May we beleue it on his word?

<sup>3</sup> Where is this answer, that we may see it?

<sup>4</sup> Yet did he much relie on *M. Cartw.* as appeareth by his letter.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

This letter as by many probable surmises may be gathered, albeit it carieth the title of *I. Throk.* defence, yet was published not so much for any respect had of him being a mā of no merit, weake parts, & as French men say, *de basse laine*, as of *M. Cartw.*

*M.*



*An answer vnto*

*M. Egerton* and other great Rabbines and doctors of discipline, and therefore with his owne matters hee lappeth in certaine words of *M. Cartwright* sounding much to his clearing, if there were nothing in it but this. But it is not likely that hee that betraieeth his own case, can or wil learnedly defend another mans. *M. Throkorton* in this point doeth both hurt himselfe and his client. for by this it appeareth that both of them had secret conference with *Copinger*, guiltie in the highest degree of treason, and that both of them talked much of him. And albeit he saith, that *Tho. Cartw.* bid him beware of *Copinger*, as of a mad man, and had sent him away with a resolute answer; yet we are not bound to beleue this to be true, nor to imagine that there was nothing els talked of betwixt *Cartwr.* and *Throkorton*, but this that is here set downe: for it appeareth that *Cartwright* did neuer so resolutely answer them, but that they hoped hee would allow their doings, and therefore did they highly magnifie him, *as hauing done more against Antichrist then any euer did since the Apostles time.* nay, they had mutuall conference by letters, and *Copinger* calleth him *reuerend Sir*, and for the deliuerance of him and some of his companions that were called in question in the Starre chamber, he had determined to doe some strange & hainous act. Besides this, it appeareth that *Copinger* delt with *M. Cartw.* not so much concerning fantasticall reuelations, as concerning extraordinary callings, *viz.* whether any might haue authoritie immediate from God to erect the presbyteriall discipline (which most absurdly they call reformation) by the peoples consent, or by force. for this is ment by extraordinary calling, and by such calling in some place, maugre princes heads, the same hath bene brought into the Church. Neither is it true that *Cartwr.* bid *Throk.* beware of *Copinger* otherwise, then that he should keepe himselfe from being hurt by him. if hee had willed him to refraine *Copingers* company, I dare say he would haue obeied him. The best defence that they haue, is, that *Copinger* was mad; yet is there no trueth in it, if he were mad, then were they not wise to company with mad men, neither were they his friends that caused him not to be restrained. That hee was not mad, the cariage of this action, his sober behauour, his formall writing, and all the points of a sober man appearing in  
him



him doe declare, If any madnesse were in him, it is such a madnesse as is in those who so furiously haue sought to hurt & ouerthrow their aduersaries, and to bring in their new forged discipline. which kind of madnes I could yet neuer perceiue that either *Tho. Cartwr.* or *Throk.* did disallow, What defence *Throk.* bringeth for *M. Eger.* shal appeare in his place; *Giles Wigginton* that most needed his helpe, and others are left to speake for themselves, it foloweth in the letter.

Throkmorton.

After this hauing bene in the country, when I came vp againe to London, *M. Copinger* meeting me in the streets, told me that he had bene sundry times at my lodging to seeke me, but now I was come, hee would visite me one of these dayes, and thereupon would needes know of me when he should bee sure to haue mee within. I told him I had much businesse, and therefore could not well set him downe any certaine time, but seeing I was a legior here, there would bee time enough to meete before the Terme were done; but hee not satisfied herewith, did not giue ouer in a maner, day by day; yea, and sometimes as I vnderstood, three or foure times a day to seek me at my lodging. Now perceiuing belike that I did as much as in me lay of<sup>1</sup> purpose to shun & auoyd him (as in deed vpon the warning of *M. Cartwright* and the former speeches of my cosine *Middlemore*, I did) he came one morning betime to my lodging, before I was out of my bed, and there he told me he had diuers things to shew me of<sup>2</sup> importance; you shall see (saith he) that I haue not dallied nor slept this geare, for I haue delt, I tell you, with the highest: and thereupon hee pulst me out of his bosome a bundle of papers, which were the most of them the copies of such letters, as he had either already written, or els had a purpose to write to severall persons for the furtherance of the<sup>3</sup> cause, as he termed it. Among the which I remember there was one to my lord Treasurer, one to the Countesse of Warwike, and within that, one to her Maiestie. the effect of all which, to my remembrance was of certaine horrible practises, treasons and conspiracies intended against the Queene. And all these were onely indefinitely set downe in a kind of<sup>4</sup> generalitie, without naming or pointing at any particular, either of time, place, person or<sup>5</sup> circumstance. More he had recorded among those papers of his, the answere that he told me he had

<sup>1</sup> In his own letter he doeth directly affirme the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> Why did not *Throk.* acquaint some officer with these matters of importance?

<sup>3</sup> Iudge you whether *Throk.* could be ignorant what this cause was, as sometime he would pretend.

<sup>4</sup> Would not a good subiect haue driuen him to specifie what they were?

<sup>5</sup> Time, place, & person in *M. Throk.* iudgement are no circumstances.



*An answer unto*

receiued by word of mouth from my lord Treasurer, and the Countesse to this effect as I remember, let not Copinger build vs castles in the aire, or feed vs with fantasies, fables, or dreames, but let him bring vs some grounded matter, &c. Withall I remember he told me that that letter to her Maiestie, the Countesse kept still in her hands, and would in no wise deliuer it, till she sawe some better matter to ground upon. Sundry other<sup>1</sup> copies of letters he shewed me at that time, as namely one to his sister Randoll, one to M. Egerton, one to M. Cartwright, one to M. Fuller, another to M. Lancaster, two to M. Vdall, with some others that I cannot now call to minde. neither to speake the trueth, did I giue any<sup>2</sup> great eare vnto them, hauing at that instant some speciall businesse, and therefore could the more willingly haue spared his company. yet this I noted among the rest, that there were few of those letters of his without some piece of imprecation or other, which sounded strange in mine eares.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Here is forsooth a great circumstance, but litle substance, great noise, litle wooll. could not he in one word haue tolde vs of Copingers importunitie, and how he sawe diuers letters and notes of his, very foolish and ridiculous? no, for then this letter would not haue swolne so great, but now that hee hath like a wier drawer drawn vs this matter out at length, what stufte is in it? he would gladly shake of Copingers acquaintance, & make the world belecue that he did mislike his courses and deuises. of the which, the first point I easily belecue. for men are loth to be acquainted with such as go about any such dangerous purpose for feare of hurt, but that he misliked the man or his course, it is not probable. if he did, why did he peruse his letters? nay why did he once talke with such a pernicious and sedicious fellow, at least after he had talked with him, why did he not detect him? why did he not remember *M. Middlemores* and *Tho. Cartwr.* aduise. that esteemed Copinger, as himselfe confesseth, to bee a mazed foole? nay, seeing his foolish papers and notes, and perceiuing my lord Treasurers and my lady of Warwikes opinion of the man and his informations, why did he not then auoid his company? that which *Throk* concealeth, I wil tel you, it may be he was very vnwilling to be seen in his company for feare of suspicion, & it may be he tooke him for a rash and bold fellow. but  
all

<sup>1</sup> All which declare how many had intelligence of Copingers practises.

<sup>2</sup> But did he read them?



all this made for *Throk*, purpose, and for the effecting of that which all disciplinarians desired, for seditious stirres are not wrought by the wisest felowes; yea, oftentimes craftie companions abuse the simplicitie of fooles to their purpose. *Nicholas* the 3. by *Iohn Prochita*, that went about disguised like a foole, & piped in a trunke, wrought that execrable massacre vpon the Frenchmen in Sicilia: which because it was done at ringing in to Euen song, was called *the Sicilian Euen song*. and who knoweth in what sort the bishops should be ouerthrowen, or dumbe ministers expelled? that it was entended, *Throk* could not be ignorant, nor do we doubt but that *Throk* desired it, and knew the practise how it was to be done. all the letters & notes tended to this end. *Copinger* had no other pretense, then the *holy cause*, as they call their vnholly practises, nor then the establishment of the consistorie. To effect such a purpose no course more plausible with the multitude, then pretense of holines & extraordinary reuelations. By them *Mahomet* gathered his forces, & set vp his kingdom, *Sertorius* maintained his army, *Iohn a Leiden* troubled all *Westphaly*, & tooke *Mounster*. neither was *Copinger* such a sot, but that he had craft enough. His imprecations hee learned in the consistorial schoole, where that blasphemous wretch *Hacket* was also trained vp. what then doeth all this argue, but that albeit *Throk*, could be content to stand without reach of blowes, yet he was willing to heare of others troubles, and wel acquainted w<sup>th</sup> the purpose, & fauoured it by his aduise & counsell? neuer did he meane to crosse it, nor did he feare any thing more, then that it should not go forth, or should preiudice *Th. Cartm.* and the consistorian faction: as also may further appeare by that which foloweth.

*Vespres Sicili-  
ennes.*

Throckmorton.

Now after he had thus<sup>2</sup> shufled ouer his letters & papers vnto me, he fell to discourse with mee at large of certaine strange reuelations & apparitions, that he had had of late, as namely once in his bed w<sup>h</sup> his brother master Ambrose Copinger and another gentleman lay by him, he tolde mee himselfe, that they that laie by him being awaked with the loude noise and groning that he made, as men something amazed at the strangenesse thereof did call on him aloude, verily thinking him not to be well in his wits, whereas in trueth

*Euen as M.  
Throk hath  
shufled out ma-  
ny of his owne  
cardes.*



## An answer vnto

(saith he) I was inwardly rauished in spirit, did grone in soule, & was talking with my god, who did most cōfortably & gloriously appeare vnto me, yet they would by no means belecue it; & then he fell to vse many protestations, yea, & imprecations vnto me to perswade me of the trueth thereof: namely, that he for his part was as sure that the Lord had reuealed sundry things vnto him poore worme of the earth (for these were his wordes) as he was sure of his death. and euen here it was that I tooke occasiō to deale with him, so<sup>1</sup> roundly about those kind of cursings and imprecations that were so vsuall with him, <sup>2</sup> as well in his prayer, letter, & speeches; as the Lord confound me, let vengeance consume me, let the earth open and swallow me, &c. whereof I was so farre, I told him from seeing any warrant or example in the word, that on the contrary I thought they could not be used without a grienous sinne and offence vnto the maiestie of God. Concerning all which, his defence me thought was most sillie and pitifull, hauing nothing in the world to salue it, but onely extraordinary, extraordinarie: whereupon he fell in some earnest manner to question and expostulate with mee, what I thought, whether all extraordinarie callings were nowe ceased, and whether it were <sup>3</sup> not possible that a man should haue any particular reuelations in this age, as well as in former times, greatly complaining that M. Cartwr. & M. Eger. with all the <sup>4</sup> godly preachers about the city, as well those in prison, as at liberty, should be of that iudgement, that we were not to rest vpon any of those extraordinary reuelations in this age, but rather to accompt of them as deceitfull suggestions of Satan, &c. to which effect, I remember, as his custome was, to haue his bosome full of papers, copies of letters & such like, (because hee sayd he loued to keep his reckonings about him, that he might walke surely) he drew out certain notes, either of his own hand, or of some of theirs, whereby was manifestly refuted that fond <sup>5</sup> opinion of his concerning reuelations. all which as he shewed me one by one, so he forgate not to tell me still by the way, how weake their reasons were, to this end (as it should seeme) that he might thereby with more ease fasten this conceit vpon me, and <sup>6</sup> draw me, if he could, to be of his mind.

Maith. Sutcliffe.

M. Throkemorton did well know that the allowance of reuelations & extraordinary callings, especially for change of state, which they couertly call reformation, tended to the allowance of

<sup>1</sup> His dealings in more worke for Cooper, were square or rather out of square, & not round.  
<sup>2</sup> What doeth answer to as well

<sup>3</sup> Will he denie that it is possible?  
<sup>4</sup> Then were Wigginton and Penry vngodly preachers.

<sup>5</sup> But concerning extraordinarie callings, of which there is more doubt, not one word.  
<sup>6</sup> M. Throg. was not so hard to be drawn, as he would seeme.



of sedition. which might be very preiudiciall to the Consistorial faction, if it were knowen that the same hatched any such dangerous opinions. therefore doeth hee tell vs a long tale of their conference concerning reuelations and extraordinary callings, bearing vs in hand that hee disallowed them, and condemned them, as being destitute of warrant and example. which reason is very vn sufficient. for many examples wee haue not to be followed, <sup>1</sup>as that of *Phinehas* that killed *Zamri* and *Cosby*. of <sup>1</sup>Numb. 25. *Ehud* that killed *Eglon*, and generally of the fathers in marrying many wiues, and within the degrees of consanguinitie and affinity that ordinarily were allowed. So that it seemeth he did not so much mislike either reuelations or extraordinarie vocations as hee pretendeth. for in cases when the Church is wasted generally they allow extraordinary vocations. *Knox* too much fauoured them. *Wigginton* and *Penry* did directly allow of both in *Copinger* and his consorts, yea and *T. Cartw.* they say, doeth worke extraordinary miracles. In this place albeit *Throk Morton* would make semblant to condemne extraordinary callings, yet he doeth onely propound the question, and resolueth vs of extraordinary reuelations, allowing and giuing euery man leaue to like and allow of extraordinary vocations, that is, violent motions tending to innouation and troubling of state. *Th. Cartw.* oracle in this place vttereth nothing to condemne them. Now if he that is demaunded of two things seeme to condemne but one, very likely it is he liketh the other. But what should we insist much on this point, when the whole power of the Consistorie which they so much magnifie & strue for, is extraordinary, yea and exorbitant too? both *Copingers* imprecations, and that doeth rest on one ground, to wit, on humane fantasie. yea the one proceedeth from the other. for where did *Copinger* and his consorts learne them, but in the schoole of the Disciplinarians, which in their prayers beside godly petitions haue many bitter inuectiues and wicked curses? Neither doeth it auaille *Throk.* that some of his teachers doe now in direct termes oppugne both reuelations, and extraordinary vocations. for that doctrine serueth now best their turnes. But they haue, and I doubt not would againe teach contrary, if the times were correspondent to their humors. Where did *M. Copinger* sucke this poyson?



An answer vnto

did he not draw it from the nources of sedition and foolery Giles Wigginton, Iohn Penry, and such like? and all this appeareth by Copingers papers, which he vsed to call his reckonings. but good it had bin for Throk-morton & his fellowes, that such reckonings and scores had bene burned. for so it would not haue appeared, what is due to the officers of iustice, who say there is much debt behinde vnpayd. by the way it is euident, that Copinger was no such idiot, as is imagined, that so diligently kept a register of all his doings. but that is but one argument of many. M. Throk-morton neuer thought him so, nor said so vntil such time as to re-grace himsele, and his felowes, it was necessary for him to disgrace Copinger, and thought a more tolerable fault to lay all on the dead, then that the liuing should be too heauily burdened.

Throk-morton.

Wherein, Madame, as in many other things albeit there be good cause, why I should be reasonably acquainted with mine<sup>1</sup> owne weaknes, yet finding my selfe (vpon the cōference I had with M. Cartwr. and others) sufficiently armed, as I thought, to withstand a greater assault then this, I dealt plainely and roundly with M. Copinger, and did assure him for a<sup>2</sup> full and flat resolution, that for mine owne part I was altogether of the iudgement of those godly Ministers he spoke of, not that I did therein or in any thing els, rely my selfe wholly vpon<sup>3</sup> men were they neuer so reuerend, but that I saw no warrant for those his dreames and imaginations out of the word. And now that the Lord had thus at large reueiled his wil vnto vs, euen sufficient to make the man of God perfect, if mine owne father were alieue and should tel me of any other reuelations then that, I durst not<sup>4</sup> hearken or giue eare vnto him, being a thing very dangerous and deceitful for any man to ground vpon, and therefore if I were as you M. Copinger (for those I assure you were my words) I would rather suspect this that you speake of to bee some meere illusion of the diuel, then any sound reuelation from God, &c. Well, saith he, M. Throk-morton (striking his hand on the deske that was by me) what soeuer you and others doe thinke of the strangenesse and impossibilitie hereof, I am out of<sup>5</sup> doubt of the trueth of it, being more then once or twice, and that after many conflicts, agonies and trials assured thereof euen by the holy Ghost from heauen, and that the Lord himsele had appointed me for some special worke of his to his glory. in which speeches of his, mee thought, I sawe some<sup>6</sup> wilde and strange cast of his countenance.

M. Sut-

<sup>1</sup> No man euer doubted hereof.

<sup>2</sup> El cavalier determinado.

<sup>3</sup> Doeth he preferre his iudgement before all other?

<sup>4</sup> He vsed his mother they say, vnnaturally, and so belike would he doe with his father to.

<sup>5</sup> Euen so was the Consistoriall fact on, out of doubt of their Consistory.

<sup>6</sup> M. Throk. had a wilder cast, and more strange talke, in more worke for Cooper.



*M. Sutcliffe.*

In the next section before it appeareth that *Copinger* desired to be resolved in two doubts; the first concerning extraordinary callings, the second concerning particular reuelations. not that he doubted of either, but because he hoped to draw *M. Throk.* to like of his opinion, & to further his purposes. which hope of his albeit *M. Thr.* would make vs belecue that he did frustrate, yet many reasons induce vs to thinke the cōtrary. for against reuelations he reasoneth weakely. against extraordinary callings he saith nothing. to disproue reuelatiōs he alledgeth the authoritie of *Th. Cartwr.* and other godly ministers. for so it pleaseth him to grace thē. but what is this? should we belecue it, because *T. Cart.* saith it y knoweth not himselfe yet in some points how wel to belecue, & hath with such vehemency broched vs so many fond opinions, whereof neither is there reason, nor good end? besides this *M. Throk.* telleth vs, y he doth not rely himselfe vpon men, nor belecue any thing because they speake it. He saith further that he saw no warrāt for those dreames & imaginations of *Cop.* out of the word of God. but what is it material what he saw hauing no eyes to see, nor iudgment to discerne any matter of learning, and that in controuerfies of religion, seeth as much as *Triboulet* in the mysteries of *Trismegistus*? If euery mans cōceit were reason, what foolery would not passe for currant? nay what vaine dreames and imaginations, would not be embraced for trueth? while this reason passeth for paiment, the idle dreames & fond conceits of certaine men, concerning Churchaldermen & their new gouernment haue gotten groūd. but now, God be thāked, they are all passed, & many that haue profoundly dreamed, are long since awaked. But, saith he, if mine owne father should tel of other reuelations then are cōteined in the word of God, I durst not hearken or giue care vnto him. Why then doth he belecue the dreams of their discipline, & the fond imaginations of churchaldermen? that first are not reueiled in *Scripture*, & next are like *Cop.* reuelations? why? forsoth because like an vngracious child he yeldeth no obedience to y admonitiō of his fathers. he nether respecteth what the anciēt fathers of the church haue said, nor what y reuerend prelates & graue fathers of this church of *Englād* do say, but hath rather like a rebellious child disobeyed their cōmandemēts,

and



S. Paul in the  
2. Tim. 3. speaketh  
of such persons,

and followed certaine rebellious children most opinionatiue and gracelesse also in neglecting their duetie to their parents. Nay if his conceit cary him contrary, he careth not, he saith, for his owne naturall father, no nor for his mother, albeit she hath cursed him bitterly. so vnnaturall is this sect to their parents, so vnkinde to the Church of England their mother. Lastly if a man should deny that which is here related, how wil it be prooued? *those I assure you*, saith he, *were my words*. And is this all the prooue wee shall haue? and shall we trust him vpon his bare word and assurance, whom his creditors will not trust on his bond? behold I pray you the presumption of the man, that imagineth contrary to so many proofes to bee cleared vpon his word.

Nowe against extraordinary callings all this while, *M. Throk*. saith not one word. and yet *Copinger* as appeareth by this narration, did specially go about to confirme not extraordinary reuelations against which *Throk*. doeth argue, but his extraordinary calling, saying, *that hee was appointed by the holy Ghost to some speciall worke to his glory*. Of which, what can be concluded, but that *Throk* either did allow *Copingers* conceit concerning extraordinary vocations, and consequently violent inuouation, or els that hee is an ignorant simple man that writeth he knoweth not what, and saith not any thing but that which maketh against him? Neither doth it helpe him, where he saith *that he saw in Copinger a wilde and gastly cast of his countenance*, whereby he would insinuate that he was not well in his witts. for it is an easie matter to impute any foolery or madnesse to him that is dead, whom no man will defend. but rather it hurteth *Throk*'s cause, that would accompany and haue dealing with such a madde and wild fellow, and that seeing him so furiously bent vpon some wicked purpose, would neither hinder it, nor detect it. Before this action, *Copinger* was euer taken to be naturally wise ynough, vnles it were that y<sup>e</sup> conceit of the new discipline had distempered him. neither afterward can any madnesse be imputed to him, but onely this madde and strange cast of conspiring with *Hacket* for the ouerthrow of the Ecclesiastical state, & the establishment of the throne of the Church-aldermen. Thus the suspicion of allowing of extraordinary callings



callings doeth still cleave vnto Throkorton; and further it may be gathered that by his weake reasoning against them, he did not much mislike of reuelations. the which is confirmed vnto vs also by that which followeth.

Throkorton.

Now when he saw that after all these his perswasions,<sup>1</sup> protestations, and fearefull imprecations, he could by no meanes fasten vpon me any liking of these his extraordinary<sup>2</sup> reuelations (though he often alledged M. Knoxe and some others vnto me) he grew in the end to this; that there was<sup>3</sup> a worke to be done for the Church which the Lord would not haue wrought by such men of<sup>4</sup> great gifts, as M. Egerton, M. Cartw. and my selfe were (for so it pleased him to couple vs together) but this must be effected forsooth by men of<sup>5</sup> base account, of no gifts, and such as are (as it were) the very abiects of th'earth. for euer, saith he, the Lord worketh the greatest workes by the weakest instruments. and hereupon it was that he began to commend and extoll this Hacket vnto mee, as a very rare and notable man, and yet such a one as could not reade a letter on the booke. one that in deede had bene (as he said) a vile and prophane wretch in his dayes, but was wonderfully<sup>6</sup> altered and come home. A man that would not sticke in all humilitie to acknowledge the sinne of his former life, with detestation, and was now become a conuert (forsooth) and a diligent hearer of the Word. To this effect (I<sup>7</sup> assure you) and with many moe wordes, then I can well vtter did he blaze out the prayses of this newe prophet of his. and then seeing some other come vnto mee about businesse, hee snatched up his papers, and thrusting them into his bosome, he tooke his leaue for that time.

<sup>1</sup> All after the Puritan stile.

<sup>2</sup> Extraordinary vocations he liked wel.

<sup>3</sup> A piece of seruice for the Consistorie.

<sup>4</sup> Where are they?

<sup>5</sup> Doe the Consistorians thinke so abiectly of themselves?

<sup>6</sup> Such is the common alteration of this sect. they keepe no meane.

<sup>7</sup> A firme argument, and very visuall among these men.

M. Sutcliffe.

If M. Throkorton had knowen what hee wrote, or had remembered what he should prooue, he would not haue mentioned M. Knoxe or others that like of reuelations, especially answering nothing vnto their sayings: for the authoritie of M. Knoxe is great in the dominions of the Consistory, and Tho. Cartwr. doeth propose vnto vs the Church of Scotland, wherein he was a speciall actor to be imitated in hurling in the discipline. I trust M. Throkorton will yeeld to M. Cartwr. iudgement, and whether he doe or no, all men will folow Knoxe rather



ther then *Iob Throk*, hee should therefore rather haue brought some firme arguments to disprooue extraordinary reuelations, then by declaring his naked conceit, and helping the aduerse partie with proofes, betray a good cause.

But contrarywise he reasoneth so weakely, as any man may haue libertie to thinke what he wil of reuelations, & rather doth he cōfirme them, then otherwise. Further wheras *Copinger* doth tel him of an extraordinary calling, and a certaine worke that he was appointed to do for y<sup>e</sup> Church (that is, as *T. Cart.* and *Throk-morton* doth vnderstand it, *the Consistory*) he doth not so much as in one word contrary him. no doubt it pleased him very wel. for otherwise he would haue spoken against it, or reuealed the dangerous practise that was vnderaken for it. and so the duetie of a good subiect required. for that it was <sup>1</sup> dangerous to the state he could not be ignorant, & I doubt not but *Copinger* declared the same to *Throk*, also, as he had done to others. Beside all this, it is cleare, that *Copinger* finding no great cōtradiction in *Throk-morton*, at least no more then to saue him selfe frō apparent danger, goeth on as hauing his ground layed, to commend the prophet *Hacket*, which should be the special instrument of al the worke. That which is inserted concerning *Th. Cartwr. M. Eg.* his owne and *Hackets* praises, is but a discordant point of vaine glory, and wel doeth shew that he did not much mislike *Copingers* deuise. otherwise would he not ioyne himselfe and his fellowes together with *Hacket*, without any note of difference; nor suffer *Copinger* to abuse the Scriptures, to prooue that God would worke by him and *Hacket*, two of the common people, and not by *Tho. Cartwr. M. Egerton*, and *Throk-morton*, which were the chiefe propps and corner stones of that side.

But to passe this ouer, what pertaineth it to the cause, what gifts these men haue? may not men of great gifts be acquainted with lewd practises? It should seeme yes. els would not *Throk-morton* take pleasure to report *Hackets* praises, as he doth in this place. neither would he and others so well haue liked of *Hacket* and his doings as they did. The time was when this *Hacket* was as <sup>2</sup> ranke a disciplinarian as the best. no man did more violently raile vpon Bishops. with Ecclesiastical iurisdiction he was at vtter defiance. in no case could he abide a Surplice, nor would he endure

<sup>1</sup> This extraordinary vocation importeth a power extraordinarily giuen to priuate men to depose and kill Princes, and by force to settle Religion. Goodman p. 185. the booke of obedience p. 115. & sequ.

<sup>2</sup> *Hackets* historie.



endure to heare Common prayer. a diligent hearer he was of the Consistorian word, and a great praiser of *M. Cartwr.* whom he saw as he said glorified in heauen. *Giles Wigginton* a principall defender of the Consistorian discipline, and he ioyned together in making of Malt, and that not vnfitly. for howsoeuer they meant to brew vs good discipline, yet is it thought they would haue made good Malt, a necessary ingredient for the brewing of good ale. *Hacket, Copinger* and *Arthington* were most earnest, and zelous promoters of reformation as they called it. they sighed, and groned for Zion as deepe as euer did *T. Cartwr.* Neither did they associate themselves with any, but of this faction. thus you see whatsoeuer *Throkmorton* bringeth, to cleare himselfe, the same maketh against him. But let vs heare the rest, whether it be correspondent to that which is said before.

*Throkmorton.*

*But you must understand Madame, that<sup>1</sup> before this conference of ours he wrote vnto me, and finding by like, that my answer was not to his satisfaction, he found this meanes to steale vpon mee as I haue described. His<sup>2</sup> letter was to the very same effect as his speeches were, to wit: that he hoped to liue to do some seruice in the Church of God. that whatsoeuer perswasions men vsed vnto him to desist & breake off his course, yet he had no cause to be discouraged, because he had his warrant from heauen. further, that with the Lord the greatest workes were euer brought to passe by the weakest instruments, &c. implying and enforcing still, that this *Hacket* forsooth (whom all this while I neuer saw nor heard of, but by *Copingers* report) must be the man that must do the feate, because he was a weake one, and vnlearned.*

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Whether *Copinger* wrote before this conference or after, it is not material. yet if y<sup>e</sup> be true, that is set downe in *Hackets* historie endited by himselfe & written by *Copinger*, that *Hacket* and *Cop.* came not acquainted one with y<sup>e</sup> other before Easter terme, it is not likely that this letter of *Copingers*, wherein he seemeth to speake of *Hacket*, should be written as *Throkmorton* would insinuat either before or in y<sup>e</sup> beginning of Easter terme. to omit to speake of the circumstance of time wherein *Thr.* doubleth (no dout) for some purpose, yet y<sup>e</sup> may not be forgotten, that both *Copingers*

<sup>1</sup> This matter so troubleth *Throkmortons* head, that he knoweth not what to put before, what behind. onely his wit commeth alwayes after his words.

<sup>2</sup> This letter containeth also diuers other points declaring *Throkmortons* great familiaritie with *Copinger*, and great good liking of his course contrary to this fabulous discourse.



## An answer vnto

Matth. 18.

*pingers words, and his writing tend to this ende, viz. to declare vnto Throk, whom he tooke to be of like humour with himselfe, his pernicious designements disguised with the title of seruice in the Church of God. Whereby M. Throk, vnderstoode right wel that he meant some desperate and wicked act for the glory of the Churchaldermen, which the brotherhood doeth take to be the Church, where it is said tell the Church. Neither doeth it skill, whether Throk, at this time knew, or had seene Hacket or not. for it is not requisite that euery one that is made acquainted with treason, should presently be acquainted with the principall actors in it. whether a man be acquainted with the treason or not, that is the question. how Throk, clearerh himselfe, in part hath bene shewed, but it shal better appeare hereafter.*

Throkmorton.

- <sup>2</sup> The purpose is quite contrary as the words of the letter declare.
- <sup>3</sup> And was it not a conspiracie in deede, but a matter by report pretended?
- <sup>4</sup> This fault is easily amended.
- <sup>5</sup> He saith he feareth not to be censured and punished.
- <sup>6</sup> Good words good M. Throk.
- <sup>7</sup> Were he not most partial, he would not so thinke.
- <sup>8</sup> Nay rather it would haue doubled the same.
- <sup>9</sup> And is this man a Puritan?
- <sup>10</sup> There is nothing omitted, that if hee were wise, he would desire to be printed.

*Unto this letter of his (purposely to<sup>2</sup> aduise him to beware what he did, and to looke before he leapt) I wrote him that answer which they haue now in their hands, and which M. Copinger kept in his bosome among other papers, euen the same that desperat M. Sutcliffe, and the pretended conspiracy, haue thus printed & published by patches and pieces with so many etcæteraes. I muse they would not publish it altogether, as it was, unmangled. it had sure bene a great deale fairer play, especially in a cause that cōcernes as is pretended a mans life, credit, & good name. I thanke God, Madame, if they do not adde or enlarge, or if they do not<sup>4</sup> curtail it, clip it, enterline it, and transforme it, I do not<sup>5</sup> feare the view of that letter to be presented at any time before the Lords, and my selfe to be censured and punished, as they shall thinke in their wisdoms my ouersight that way to deserue. for unlesse I greatly deceiue my self, the very shreds of that letter which they haue thus dismembred, renting one clause from another, yea and by their leaue<sup>6</sup> altering & overstreyning some words too, do notwithstanding (if they be rightly weyed) sufficiently cleare me in th'eyes of all<sup>7</sup> vnpartial and indifferent minded men. and yet it may be they know that the whole letter would haue<sup>8</sup> cleared the suspicion much more. therefore vtterly to suppress that which would cleare a<sup>9</sup> Puritan most, was for them the<sup>10</sup> wisest, though peraduenture not the cōscionablest course.*

M. Sutcliffe.

After many vagaries, & much wilde talke M. Throk, commeth neere



neere to the state of the question concerning that matter of *Hackets* wherewith he taketh himself charged; but so vnhand-  
somly & rudely, that it seemeth he rather fell into it by chance,  
then came to it by arte. He confesseth that he wrote that letter  
wherein the ground of his supposed accusation is contained;  
but more wisely had he done to haue denied it: for as wel might  
he haue denied the handwriting, as the true intent and meaning  
of the letter. of this hee maketh no conscience. *I wrote to him,*  
*saieth he, purposely to aduise him to beware what he did,* which is  
a most euident vntrueth, wilfully & aduisedly mainteined. The  
wholetenor of the letter importeth, that he rather allowed his  
purpose, then dissuaded him. He calleth *Copinger* brother, and  
*reioyceth* that he is so called by *Copinger*, being so well sanctifi-  
ed, *he ioyneth with him in good will and affection,* and crosseth not  
his designements, he affirmeth that the greatest workes were  
wrought by weakest instruments to encourage him, albeit hee  
were but a meane person and vnlearned. finally, he doeth not re-  
fuse to do that worke himselfe, which *Copinger* perswaded him  
vnto for the vnlawfulnesse of it, but because (for that his heart  
was not sufficiently sanctified) hee tooke himselfe vnwoorthie  
to doe any such high and woorthy seruice. he that gathereth a-  
ny other sence out of his letter, either vnderstandeth not En-  
glish, or doeth expound it rather mystically, then literally. But if  
*M. Throckmorton* to cleare himselfe of vntrueth, will say that hee  
wrote this letter vnto *Copinger* to aduise him to proceed warily,  
that he were not preuēted before his enterprise tooke effect:  
then doeth he cleare himselfe of vntrueth in this point, but hee  
confesseth that wherewith he saieth he is charged, *viz.* that he  
was an abetter vnto *Hackets* & *Copingers* practises. for that fo-  
loweth necessarily of it. Being driuen into this strait, he hath li-  
tle to say for himselfe, but raileth at me, and at him that writ the  
discourse of *Hackets* conspiracie. At him he glanceth as if there  
were no trueth in his report, therein condemning the Iudges, &  
all that allowed their doings, of iniustice, for so they should de-  
serue most iustly, if the conspiracie were nothing but a matter  
pretended.

Against me his choler is more vehemently inflamed, & ther-  
fore not knowing what els to say, he calleth me desperate, as if



*An answer vnto*

it were a desperate point to declare trueth against such hackers as himselfe, and his fellow *Wigg.* is. other cause hath he none that I know, so to call me. for y<sup>e</sup> trueth of the cause which I do defend against the consistorian factiō is so euident, that there is no feare of good successe, neither hath *M. Throk.* any cause to be so highly offended with me, if the inflātion of his braine had not taken away his iudgement. I neuer saw him that I remember, but once, acquaintance I haue none with him. I bore him no euill will, nor euer ment to deale with him, or offer him any disgrace, for it is not *M. Throk.* person or reputation, that either addeth or diminisheth the credite of the cause he dealeth in. To touch his life was the least of my thought, as God knoweth; onely I named his masterhip in certaine questions propounded by me in answer of certaine other questions, wherein both my selfe and my superiours were named, and I thinke I did him no wrong, seeing the breath of his malice to smell rankely, if not in the petition, yet in diuers other slanderous pamphlets written by him. If he thinke them desperate that name men, why did his comforts first begin this course? wil they rush into the preasse, and yet complaine of thrusting? better it were therefore for master *Throk.* to let me alone quietly, and to moderate his ouerflowing choler, and to giue good words.

His second pleading is, *that we haue shred and dismembred, nay altered, interlined, and ouer-streined his words,* a pleading certes most vaine and foolish, compare his letter with our bookes, you shall easily see his vntrueth. But what need comparisons, when he doeth not so much as in one word shew where this horrible crime of altering & straining of his words should be cōmitted. It may be percase that he ment not to stād to his sayings, wherein his proceeding seemeth to me to be like that of *Hackers*, who making many outcries of horrible treasons was not able when it came to the iumpe to declare any particulars. both of them percase forgot their dreames, or els hee thought it sufficient to accuse, & that calumniation was a laudable figure where other matter wanteth, to accuse vs of interlineation, is nothing but a spice of his folly. for the original resteth entire and vntouched, & altogether without alteration, diminution, or interlineation. the same may be said of his complaint made for dismembred his letter.



letter. For albeit the same for the matter therein conteined, deserueth to be dismembred, yet is it the fault rather of the writer, then the letter, to set downe so absurd and tedious a letter, wee had no reason, most of it making nothing to the purpose, & that which we alleaged being more then sufficient to prooue our intent, and nothing being any way forcible or pertinent to cleare him. for it is sufficient to shew *dangerous words* to be conteined in any one part of the letter, neither can such crimes be healed by contrary words.

Finally he alleageth that euen those words which we haue alleaged, doe sufficiently cleare him in the eies of all indifferent men, an allegation most ridiculous; for how they cleare him, he himselve neither doeth, nor can declare; and the words are most euident, that he misliketh not the worke or rather wracke that Copinger intended, but thought himselve vnworthy to deale in so holy an action. he glorieth in Copingers brotherhood. he wisheth confusion vpon Babel, whereby such as are of his humor, vnderstand the Church of England, hee saluteth *Giles Wigginton Hackets* consort, & writeth himselve his debtor, for tracing percase this enterprise. Well therefore did he to adde, if I bee not deceiued. for when this conceit entred into his braine, he was farre deceiued, but if the words printed, saith he, wil not discharge me, yet the whole being red, will discharge me. and this, saith he, they know percase themselves, wherein he is much deceiued, for we neither know nor belecue any such matter. nor I thinke any man els, were the letter red neuer so wholly and entierly. why doeth he not bring his acquittance and discharge, if any be? or not being able, why doeth he charge vs with vnconscionable dealing, for not setting downe the whole, when it could not at large be set downe, we folowing that methode we did, nor would haue relieued him being set downe at the ful?

But to the intent all occasion of quarel may bee taken from him, & all his vaine allegations disprooued, I haue here thought good to insert the whole tenor of his letter, the originall whereof is extant, written with his owne hand, & was sealed for more authentically credite of it, with his seale of armes.



¶ Job Throckmortons letter to  
Edm. Copinger.

The Preface.

The feare of the mightie God be with vs, and possesse our hearts with patience.

The Letter.

<sup>1</sup> He was not then so vnwilling to conferre with him, as now he pretendeth.

<sup>2</sup> Is he of the illuminate brotherhood?

<sup>3</sup> In generall be like he knew it well.

<sup>4</sup> False it is then, that he saith that he did disswade Copinger.

<sup>5</sup> How could they if they were not acquainted with it?

<sup>6</sup> Then did not he condemne it.

<sup>7</sup> So some terme faction.

<sup>8</sup> He would then haue matters put in execution, but with aduise and counsel.

<sup>9</sup> Both old Anabaptists and such as folow them, prooue their courses out of this word, being abused by them.

<sup>10</sup> Yea, and Satan sometime vpon smal occasions worketh great mischief.

<sup>11</sup> Belike Copinger had perswaded him to ioine with him, himselfe.

**M**Y good brother (and I reioyce that you will vouchsafe so to account of me) your godly conference at <sup>1</sup> any time, when opportunitie shall serue, I will not refuse. and albeit our businesse may now hinder vs to meete, yet there is no time ouerpast but that it may bee performed when it (shall) please God. The next terme you heare, I must appeare here againe vpon my band. at which time you shall finde that I will bee glad of your christian conference, or of any other brothers by whom I may be <sup>2</sup> enlightened. Lord deliuer mee from that pride of heart, to reiect or refuse that while I liue. That course you speake of intended by you, I was neuer you know in <sup>3</sup> particular acquainted with, and therefore for me to like or <sup>4</sup> dislike a matter I had no knowledge of, had bene, I take it, without ground or warrant: onely I confesse I heard some buzzes abroad of a sole & singular course, that either you or some other had plotted in his head, which was greatly <sup>5</sup> feared, and condemned of the brethren. what that was, as I know not, so had I small reason to speake of it with <sup>6</sup> preiudice, onely I would wish you & all that beare goodwill to the <sup>7</sup> holy cause, in this perillous age of ours, to take both your eies in your hands, as they say, & to be sure of your ground, before you <sup>8</sup> strue to put in execution. for as I like not of coldnesse of zeale vnder colour of discretion, so on the other side I thinke that this sentence of our Saniour, Be ye wise as serpents, was not written in vaine neither, and had great need to bee practised of some in this age. A sanctified cause you know world alwayes haue a sanctified course. our rule and square must be the <sup>9</sup> word of trueth, which so long as wee lay before vs as our leuell, wee shall not lightly swarue much from the marke. The Lord therefore direct vs in these fearful & miserable daies, & let not our infirmities be a barre to his mercies. I know my good brother that the greatest <sup>10</sup> works of the Lord are wrought by the weakest instruments, least man should boast in the arme of flesh. and therefore (were it not for my sinnes and unworthinesse) I could easily perswade my selfe in regard of my weakenes, that the Lord might <sup>11</sup> effect some thing by mee, who am priue to mine owne



owne wantes, and farre short of those good giftes it pleaseth (you) of your loue to loade mee with. But this worke that you<sup>1</sup> speake of (how soeuer the instrument be compassed with weaknesse) must surely be wrought by a more sanctified heart, then my selfe can yet without hypocrisie boast of. and therefore though in affection and good wil I<sup>2</sup> ioine, yet I resigne the<sup>3</sup> honour of the worke to those that the Lord hath thereunto more enabled. The man you<sup>4</sup> speake of, if hee bee at Oundill, dwelleth hard by a sister of mine, and thereupon I shall haue the better occasion to see him, when it (shall) please God. Forget me not in your holy prayers and meditations, and salute good Giles with many thanks, whose<sup>5</sup> debtor I am in the Lord. Blessing vpon Sion, confusion vpon Babel. Hast this 18. of the 5. moneth.

<sup>1</sup> Well then did M. Throk. vnderstand the worke that Copinger went about.

<sup>2</sup> Then did he not dissuade him.

<sup>3</sup> Would he call the worke honorable if he condemned it?

<sup>4</sup> He meaneth Hacker, with whom it seemeth he was sooner and better acquainted, then he will now be acknowledged.

<sup>5</sup> Like creditor, like debtor.

On the backe of the letter is written, To his very louing friend M. Copinger.

Vnderneath there is this subscription, Euer yours in the Lord, &c. without his name.

Now gladly would I know of M. Throk. what one word in all this letter doeth make for his iustification, that he should so exclaime of vs for not setting the same down whole and entier. nay cōtrarywise, there are diuers points which we omitted, that make much against him. but nothing more, then that his owne conscience did so accuse him, that hee durst not subscribe his name vnto it.

Therefore doth he wel to submit himselfe to the lords by them to be censured & punished, & wisely to appeale to his lady, who percase of meere pity wil acquite him, in our dealings, there was certes no want either of good conscience or honest meaning. nay, wee concealed diuers pointes of fauour towards him, that might more hardly wring him, as may appeare in our answere to that which foloweth.

Throkmorton.

It may be, and is like enough (if they haue all his papers) that they haue also another<sup>6</sup> short letter of mine in answere to another of M. Copingers, who writing vnto me thus: Deare brother, I hope, ere it be long, you shall see an alteration. I answered him euen vnder the same letter, both in one paper thus: Such<sup>7</sup> an alteration as would breed a reformation & not a confusion, I would be heartily glad

<sup>6</sup> Good it had bene for M. Throk. that both had gone downe the riuer together.

<sup>7</sup> He seeketh the of,



*An answer vnto*

Then must he  
take heed how he  
prayeth for his  
new deuised dis-  
cipline.

of, and I<sup>r</sup> doe daily pray for. *seeing they are so full of their printing,*  
*I would wish they had bene so kind hearted to haue printed this too.*

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Albeit *M. Throk* hath a great conceit of his owne wit, and fine filken writing; yet I trust he doeth not imagine, that euery letter of his is worthy to be printed. Sufficeth that this his letter be printed, and some part of that hee wrote to *Copinger*, all his works may not claime like priuiledge. This letter of his which he wisheth had bene printed, maketh but litle for his iustificati-  
on. nay it sheweth him to be a busie malcontent, desirous of al-  
teration. He saith, he would be heartily glad of, and doeth dai-  
ly pray for an alteration, that would breed a reformation. but  
what meaneth he by reformation? forsooth the ouerthrow of  
the ecclesiasticall state, the change of lawes, of gouernours, of  
customs, the establishment of the consistorie in euery parish, or  
euery competent number of parishes, & the erection of the new  
found discipline. but if this be his desire, as I thinke hee will not  
deny, then doth he desire an alteration that would bring in con-  
fusiō, Ministers would inuade the princes supremacie, base peo-  
ple would iudge of doctrine, and execute the censures of the  
church, and to speake in a word, the whole church and common  
wealth would be iumbled together, and such a discipline esta-  
blished as is nothing, but a gallimalfry of conceits chopped to-  
gether in three or foure odde felowes braines. Good it were  
therefore, if that bee his meaning, that this letter had bene sup-  
pressed, and I thinke he will not so much ioy of this declamati-  
on, when he considereth it better, but he will wish it vnprinted.  
neither can he make any aduantage of our printing. Wee print  
not any such riraffe stufte, nor any such scummie conceites as  
these letters are, nor doe lawes permit such ribald-like and odi-  
ous libels as the epistles of *Martin*, *Some in his colours*, *Penries*  
railing supplications and motions, perpetual monuments of the  
impietie and wicked humors of such sectaries. nor doe we wil-  
lingly write bookes of controuersie against those that seeme to  
professe one religion, vnlesse it bee for our iust defence, and the  
defence of law and iustice, which none can blame but such as  
*master Throkorton*, that thinketh nothing well printed, but his  
lewd



lewd letters and libelling epistles, but see how hee will maintaine that we haue forced and detorted his letter.

Throkmorton.

Now that your<sup>1</sup> honour may the better iudge, whether I be herein iniured or no, or whether it be vpon the<sup>2</sup> spleene (as it were) without cause, that I doe thus complaine, it may please you a little to consider with me of these few particulars ensuing. First, whereas M. Copinger in his letter seemed to bee sory that I should bee one of those that did condemne his course, and I assured him that I was not overhastie to condemne him in a matter that I knew not of, nor had any acquaintance with, but onely heard of at the second hand, as it were by certaine buzzes, and flying reports abroad, &c. all that former part of my letter, and those wordes that make so manifestly and apparantly for my clearing, and wherein I doe<sup>3</sup> utterly disanow all knowledge & acquaintance with these courses of his, (because they would so faine haue me seeme guiltie)<sup>4</sup> is quite left out and suppressed. not a word of that I warrant you. Then when the whole drift and scope of my letter is, a meere<sup>5</sup> dissuasion of M. Copinger to goe on with any sole or singular course of his owne head, and that hee take both his eyes in his hands, and bee sure of his ground before hee strue to put anything in execution: they haue laboured to innert all straining and stretching both my words and meaning quite<sup>6</sup> against the haire, as may appeare by their marginall note, strue to put in execution. whereby they would make the world beleue, that Throkmorton was no dissuader, but rather an<sup>7</sup> encourager on of Copinger, to put in execution that which before he had conceived in his braine.

M. Sutcliffe.

Much better might the lady haue iudged, if he durst haue set downe our words wherein he pretendeth himselfe to be iniured. for then she might haue scene that he is not iniured at all, & that he doeth nothing but babble, and cog vntueths. The first part of his letter which he so much cōplaineth of that we haue left out, is not left out, but set downe the most part, yea, and faire printed too, by vs<sup>8</sup> both. let our bookes be viewed, & it wil not be denied. I wōder he was either so flouthful as not to look, or so shameles as to report that which his own eies testified to be vntueth. Secondly, where he saith that the words of his letter which we haue suppressed, doe manifestly and apparantly make for his clea-

<sup>1</sup> What is right or wrong, iudges conceiue better then ladies.  
<sup>2</sup> The spleene is the seate of laughter rather then choler.

<sup>3</sup> Vtterly vntrue.

<sup>4</sup> It should be are.

<sup>5</sup> There is no such matter. read the letter.

<sup>6</sup> And hath not he these very words?

<sup>7</sup> So it seemeth. for no man that would perswade a man vterly to desist, will perswade him to vse warinesse, and so to proceed.

<sup>8</sup> Answer to the petition, pag. 202. and conspiracie for pret, refor. p. 171.



ring, the case is farre otherwise. for therefore are they alleaged by vs, that by his own words euery indifferent man might deem him guiltie. And admit they did somewhat fauor him, yet none but idiots are wont to alleage their owne testimony, nor doeth law admit a mans owne words to cleare himselfe, but in trueth they no way fauour his cause, nor doeth he therein disauowe all knowledge of *Copingers* courses. for he doeth not deny, but hee heard of it by certain buzzes & flying reports caried to him be-like by some buzzards of his sort, & apparant it is whatsoeuer he saith, that *Copinger* and he had before this conferred about these matters. And albeit he knew not, nor would know the very secret mysterie of *Copingers* treason, yet other courses & pretenses of his he was not ignorant of, nor himselfe in his letter can deny to be acquainted with.

Thirdly, whereas he affirmeth that the whole drift & scope of his letter is a meere dissuasion of *Copinger* to go on with any sole or singular course, his very friends are ashamed of his shamelesse dealing herein. Lookethe words of the letter, you shal also euidently acknowledge the same, he sheweth that the greatest works are wrought by weakest instruments, he only for his owne unworthines refuseth to be an instrument of that worke, & in the conclusion saith, that in good will & affection he ioineth with *Copinger*, & calleth the worke honorable. Now, if they that allow a worke, & highly extoll it, do disallow it, & if they that ioine themselves in societie, do disauow, then doth *Throk*, interpret wel, but contrary to his words, & the stile of our English tongue. if otherwise, then is there no streining, stretching, nor inuenting, but plaine and true dealing. eue the very words that he doth take hold of, do make against him. For he that doth wish a man to take both his eies in his hands, & to be sure of his ground before he put any thing in execution, willeth him not to desist, but to take good aduise, & to lay a sure ground worke before he begin. If a man should aduise *M. Throk*, before he ride to London to consult w<sup>th</sup> *M. Cartm*. & to see that his plot be wel laid, that he take not his iourney in vaine, I thinke he would not say that he were dehorted from going to London, according to any good construction. If any other should haue so sayd, it might be well said, hee had neither iudgement to interpret, nor consciēce to peruert, nor shame to stand



stand to vntueth. Most cleare it is therefore, if *M. Throk.* spoke English, that his entent was not to <sup>1</sup>mislike that cause, which he calleth holy, or that worke that hee esteemeth so glorious, or that persons doing of whom he reioyceth to be called brother, and whose heart he taketh to be sufficiently sanctified, either for the massacring of certain knowen mē, or for the stirring of sedition and tumult, or for the erection of the court of troubles and disorders, called the Consistory, or whatsoever other fire worke it was that he entended. His only feare was, that the attempt should be either without effect, or els with too much danger to the brotherhood of disciplinarians called commonly *Puritans*, albeit for their impuritie most of them deserue other names. and thereupon aduiseeth him to take both his eyes in his hand, and to bee sure of a good ground before hee beginne. which is such a counsell, as that many haue had their eyes pecked out vpon the gibet for much lesse.

<sup>1</sup> Nay, he affirmeth plainly he did not dislike it.

Lastly where he saith, *we straine and stretch his words and meaning quite against the haire, as may appeare by our marginall note.* First he must vnderstand, that there is no such note set in the margine by me. and secondly, that he that wrote the discourse of *Hackets* conspiracie did neither straine nor stretch his words, but barely set them downe as hee himselfe had written them. who I thinke did neither streine his owne wordes, nor write against his owne meaning. Most euident therefore it is, that this man did nothing but abuse the credulitie of this Lady, hoping with great leasings to winne some comiseration, and to wring some teares out of her eyes, to see her distressed seruant so pressed with his owne wordes. that hee had any iniury offered him he shal neuer be able to iustifie. nay he iniurieth his reader, with offer of these fooleries to his eyes, and deceiuing his expectation, looking for prooffe of the great wrongs he pretended.

Throckmorton.

*And now to mend the matter, in the necke of this comes M. Sutcliffe with his vye, offering me full as hard measure as all this comes to, and thereof I make your La.<sup>2</sup> iudge. for whereas in the feeling and experience of mine owne weakenesse and wants, I dare not boast nor take vpon me the<sup>3</sup> name of a sanctified heart, he very kindly I thanke him, sets his brand vpon me in the margine in this maner, a sancti-*

<sup>2</sup> Can she iudge of Galliards and measures?  
<sup>3</sup> To speake congrue, he can. not so be named.



## An answer unto

fied Puritane. The thing that I do apparantly disauow and renounce as not daring to boast of, it<sup>1</sup> pleaseth him in his ghirding maner, to upbrayde mee with, as if I did arrogantly assume it unto my selfe. so that you see I can escape him no way. Nay, it seemeth hee is so eger and sharpe set to snappe and bite at mee, that hee will not giue mee leaue to speake sometimes the very<sup>2</sup> language of Canaan. no not as the holy Ghost himselfe speaketh in the Scripture, but I shall beare a blow for it. Himselfe knoweth, I doubt not, better then I, that it is the vsuall phrase with the Hebrewes to<sup>3</sup> say, the first moneth, the fift moneth, the seuenth moneth, the ninth moneth. And albe- it I holde it not unlawfull to name and write the moneths as wee usu- ally do, as March, April, May, &c. so yet for a man once or twice in his life to vse the<sup>4</sup> phrase of the holy Scripture and say, The fift mo- neth, should not mee thinkes in equitie (if it be rightly weighed) de- serue so great a reproch. And I<sup>5</sup> muse, if M. Sutcliffe should Com- ment vpon the 10. Chapter of Ezra, where it is said, that the people sate downe and trembled before the Lord the twentieth day of the ninth moneth. And againe, The ancient heades sate downe to examine the matter the first day of the tenth moneth. I muse, I say, if he should Comment vpon this, whether he would there- upon make such a marginall glosse, as he hath done vpon my<sup>6</sup> poore letter, This is the new, absurd, confistorian stile.

Wherein yet your Ladyship may see how easily a wise man may<sup>7</sup> o- uerslip himselfe in his distemperature. for if it be true that this maner of writing, the fourth moneth, the fift moneth, the 8. moneth &c. which is so ill taken and<sup>8</sup> scornefully digested by M. Sutcliffe, be not onely the phrase of poore M. Caluin, or Beza, or barely a Geneuian deuise (for then I feare me, he would goe neere to treade it vnder his feete and rent the record with his teeth) but also the vsuall phrase of the Bishops themselves, in the translation of their great Bibles com- manded and enioyned to be read in the Churches. If this I say may be proued (as it is manifest & apparant to all that will not wilfully muffle themselves) then must it needs be, that he hath herein in a sort, done himselfe a piece of iniury, and that in<sup>9</sup> leuelling thus greedily at me, he hath vnaduisedly rushed vpon some of his dearest friendes, whom I am sure he would be loth to offend. If he say they doe but translate so, it will be but a scely and slender voydance of the matter. for I hope he will not say, that his<sup>10</sup> graue fathers do either in their writing, or in their

<sup>1</sup> He viterly mi-  
staketh my mea-  
ning. for the man  
dwelleth some-  
time at Puddle  
wharfe.

<sup>2</sup> The language  
of the Cananites  
he speaketh but  
too often.

<sup>3</sup> So do we too,  
but not in that  
sence nor maner  
that pleaseth M.  
Throkmorton.

<sup>4</sup> You vse the  
phrase, but leaue  
the meaning,  
which is an a-  
buse in Scripture.

<sup>5</sup> If he so often  
muse, let him  
take heede he be  
no cornemuse.

<sup>6</sup> A poore letter  
in deede not  
worth one peny.

<sup>7</sup> When he com-  
meth to it, he wil  
hardly proue ei-  
ther slippe or  
distempre.

<sup>8</sup> I vse not to  
digest phrases,  
it is too light  
meate to feede  
vpon. neither is  
it the fashion to  
tread on phrases.

<sup>9</sup> One thing it is  
to leuel, another,  
to rush. I doe  
neither against  
my friends, whose  
case from Throk-  
mortons is di-  
uers.

<sup>10</sup> And will he  
needes mocke  
his fathers?



their Translation vse any newe, absurd, Puritan or Consistorian stile, which he knowes they might easily auoyde, if there were any such absurditie in the matter, as hee would beare vs in hand, and translate for the first<sup>1</sup> moneth March, for the second April, and so for the rest, if it pleased them. Therefore if M. Sutcliffe should say neuer so constantly, nay, if he should sweare vnto mee, that this maner of writing were absurd and Consistorianlike, he must pardon me, I could not beleue it. my reason is, because the Bishops themselves doe vse it. And where do they vse it? even there where I presume they would be most afraid to vse any strange, absurd, or unwarrantable speech, to wit, in the holy Scriptures of God, which they know are to be handled with al pietie and reuerence, as may most tend to the edification of the people of God. If then it be in no sort absurd in<sup>2</sup> them, no more say I can it be in me, seeing the very same phrase that I haue used but once onely in my letter, they haue used in their translation aboue twenty times, and yet it were hard, he knowes, to count them<sup>3</sup> Precisians or disciplinarians for all that.

<sup>1</sup> With vs the first moneth is January. and with the Hebrewes it beginneth from the new moone in our March.

<sup>2</sup> They translate Hebrew, Throk. should speake English.

<sup>3</sup> Not phrases make Precisians, but precise opinions.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Pitifully doth *M. Throk*. complaine first, that he is called *sanctified Puritan*, & next that he is reprobued for writing the language of *Canaan*, and terming *May* the *fift moneth*. which albeit true, yet maketh nothing to the purpose. for admit a glosse were set on his letter, what is that to his letter, this being mine, that being his? Is his letter so sanctified y<sup>t</sup> it may admit no glosse nor note? it should seeme therfore, that he had drunke betwixt that which goeth before & this. or els he could not so suddenly haue forgotten what matter he had in hand. what then if false? sure then it wil folow he nether speaketh truly nor pertinently. whatsoeuer he saith, & how true or false, or farre soeuer it is beside his present purpose, answered it must be. and the rather for that I thinke the man had some priuie purpose to bite at me. He saith *I come in to mend the matter*. if to mend the matter, why is he offended? is he nowe become an enemie of reformation. In the necke of this, saith he, comes *M. Sutcliffe* with his vye. and yet I assure you, I would be loth to vye or to play with such cogging felowes. that which I write is true, & therein I do him no wrong. if he come abroad, hee must haue patience to be looked vpon.

But,



*An answer vnto*

But, saith he, *he sets his brand vpon me in the margine in this manner, A sanctified Puritane.* Wherein hee doeth himselfe wrong, & me too. for before that euer I medled with him, the man was branded all cole blacke, and dwelled sometimes at *Puddle wharfe.* and for mine owne part I doe not take him to bee either sanctified or *Puritane*; but that it pleaseth him to take on him this name. Neither doe I gird this name vpon him, *Come le bast sur un asne*, as the French saying is. but he is willing to girde it to himselfe. his scurrilous writings, contentious course and whole maner of life, do sufficiently diuest him frō the title of *sanctified Puritan.* what then may you say was the meaning of my words? forsooth to declare vnto you what was in the opinion of *Throckmorton* and his fellowes vnderstood by sanctification, and what abominable practises *Libertines* colour and smooth with the title of sanctification. let not therefore *M. Throckmorton* be offended with this. for rather then he should, he shall not neede to open his infirmities and weakenesse, I my selfe will cleare him of puritie, and sanctification. It was not my meaning to charge him with sanctification, but by his wordes to set out the *model* of an hypocrite, or pretended sanctified Puritane: a title not taken on *M. Throckmorton*, but assumed by some, and giuen by others, to farre worse men.

Neither doe I finde fault with him for vsing the Scripture phrase, but for abusing it, nor for speaking the language of *Canaan*, but for speaking the cursed language of the cursed *Canaanites*. let him as oft as hee will say the fift moneth after the *Hebrew* stile, so long as hee applyeth it no otherwise then the *Hebrewes* doe. but if hee by the fift moneth vnderstand *May*, or imagine, that they accompted or beganne their moneths as we doe, hee doeth erre. The fift moneth with the *Hebrewes* called *Ab*, is Iuly, two moneths after the date of his letters. the 18. day of the 5. moneth is the 4. of August. which this good man vnderstood not. who then can allow him, that cannot vnderstand the *Hebrew*, yet to forsake his mothers tongue, and to abuse the *Hebrew*?

A worse thing is this, that he cleaueth to the bare letter, and leaueth the meaning, and the inward grace: he vseth Scriptures as the Pharises did, and as wicked men doe, to euil purposes, and yet



yet for vsing of termes of Scripture, hee hopeth his tongue is sanctified. The English translation of the reuerend Bishops doeth vse the Hebrew phrase, because they translate Hebrew, and send vs to their maners. but there is a diuers reason of him that speaketh English after the Hebrew phrase, which is nothing els but to abuse that tongue, and to seduce his reader to receiue a wrong computation. *M. Calvin* and *Beza* when they speake Latine speake after the Latine phrase, and so likewise writing French, count after the French fashion. Wherefore then doeth he mention them who speake nothing in this cause, and rather make against him then for him? *I feare mee*, saith he, *if it were onely the phrase of M. Calvin or Beza, hee would tread it vnder his feete, and rent the record with his teeth.* How knoweth he, that I would so doe? is he a prophet, or the sonne of a prophet? there is no such matter. this is therefore nothing but his malicious conceit. *M. Calvin* I doe reuerence, and *M. Beza* I respect, albeit hee vseth me with no respect. and from both I doe so dissent in some things, that I spare the men and deale only against their opinions. neither against the, nor their writings, nor against any doe I vse any such outragious behaviour as he pretendeth. it is not the paper that offendeth me, but the immodestie of the authors, against whom notwithstanding God hath giuen me meanes without any such course to defend my selfe. let him not therefore bee offended, albeit I say that the stile of *Throkmorton* is newe and absurd, and Consistorian like. for so it is in deede. New, for I thinke he cannot shewe me any precedent vnlesse it be the Records of the Consistory. Absurd: for what is more absurd then to place *May* after *Midsummer*? neither doe the translatours of the Bible, nor *Calvin* or *Beza*, nor any other learned men vse the phrase in that sort. And thus much in answer of *Throkmortons* babble concerning the fift moneth, a moneth that in computation of the Hebrewes commeth after *Midsummer* moone, and a fit argument for *M. Throkmorton*, in whose natiuitie *Luna* seemeth to be predominant, to discourse vpon.

H

*Throkmort.*



<sup>1</sup> Great words  
litle reason.

<sup>2</sup> God forbid  
any should de-  
pend on his  
prayers.

<sup>3</sup> Yet this de-  
clamation stan-  
deth vnanswered.

<sup>4</sup> This he hath  
then by hearesay,  
and speaketh  
without ground.

<sup>5</sup> Looke the an-  
swer.

<sup>6</sup> As he did in  
Martin, and more  
worke, and such  
fire-workes sup-  
posed to be his.

By this, Madame, and the rest, your Ladyship may easily see, that I am both <sup>1</sup> uncharitably and unchristianly dealt with. and yet to speake indifferently, I ought not in some regarde to thinke much of it, or take it to heart, when so reuerend a man as Master Egerton is (for whose holy <sup>2</sup> Prayers I doe not doubt but her Ma-iestie and the whole State doeth prosper the better) can by no meanes escape the sting of their enuened mouths. It may bee your Ladyship hath heard howe learnedly and roundly Master Sutcliffe did confute him of late in Powles, euen since the publishing of his last <sup>3</sup> declamation, and that to his face before Doctour White and others. I was not by my selfe; but if it bee, as I <sup>4</sup> haue heard, the speeches were so opprobrious, as I am halfe ashamed to set downe with my penne, remembring the personne against whome they were uttered. they were neither Greeke nor Hebrew, nor yet scarce any congruities of good maner, but (sauiing your reuerence Madame) plaine scabbe, and <sup>5</sup> scurvy iacke. In which veine of kitchen Rhetoricke, if they would giue mee leaue also to follow the sway of flesh and blood, mee thinkes I could easily without any sweat or paines (if there were no boundes of <sup>6</sup> modestie to restraine me) learne to confute the honestest man, and the greatest clearke in Christendome.

M. Sutcliffe.

By this and the rest, (sayeth he) you may see, but sure she must then see farre more then is prooued, yea, or auerred in the foregoing discourse. But what is it, that this Lady may easily see? forsooth, sayeth he, that I am both uncharitably and unchristianly dealt with. and wherein I pray you? for these great wordes, vnlesse he will haue them fall presently to the ground, they must bee supported by some good prooffe, and firme foundation. Wherein then is this prooffe or this foundation? hee bringeth none. nay there is none to be brought. for why? May not a man without breach of charitie reprocue offenders? and may not the vanitie and absurditie of an hypocrite be noted by the rules of charitie and Christianitie? Litle doeth M. Throkmorton vnderstand wherein either charitie or Christianitie consisteth, if he so thinke. Nay in condemning others, hee woundeth



deth his deare friend *Master Cartwright* and his biting replyes, that in taste are farre more tart, and bitter then my answeres, and striketh to the ground *Martin* his neare kinsman, and all the deuisers and fauourers of that Treatise, a treatise most fierie and furious, yea vnciuill and odious. if he acquite *M. Cartwr.* let him not lightly condemne me. this conclusion of his, being left naked without good prooffe, vnlesse the Lady of pitie doe embrace it, will of euery one be reiected. But were it granted, to gratifie him with some little fauour, yet that is not the matter which hee should haue concluded, but a by matter of certaine by names, wordes and glosses, tediously and disorderly discoursed; he should haue concluded, *that his letters were in- iuriously wrested*, but that his memorie was not so long as to reach so farre. He telleth vs therefore of certaine wordes and termes which he taketh to be vncharitable and vnchristian, being himselfe most plentiful in scornefull termes and reproches, and best deseruing his owne wordes returned.

The like may be said of all that, which against the wooll, as it were, he hath drawne in, or thrust into this letter of his concerning *M. Egerton, M. Cartwr. M. Fenner* and others. For albeit they were of some taken for right honest and very reuerend men; yet what maketh that for *Iob Throkmortons* defence? he is neither more honest nor learned for any qualitie inherent in them. Whereto then tendeth this discourse, which the title of the booke, and euery leafe hauing *Iob Throkmortons* defence set at the toppe, may teach him to be impertinent? I doe perceiue, he meant not onely to defend, but to accuse. he longeth percase to degorge some malice against me. yet wisdom might haue perswaded him, if hee had but a little considered of the matter, that it had bene good for him to haue medled with his owne matters.

These men, I thinke, gaue him no commission to raile vpon me: and I am assured, when they heare my defence, they will giue him no thanke for speaking for them. and yet I wil not further deale against them, then for answer of this accusation is most necessary, and was enforced vpon me. I seeke no quarrels, and loth would I be to reuiue matters forgotten, or to yrge those who I suppose are sory for their former folies.



*An answer vnto*

Yet seeing *M. Throkmorton* will needes prouoke mee, and obiect these mens wrongs vnto mee, how could I auoyd to touche them, being to encounter him, which by their credites would hurt mee? if *M. Egerton* or *M. Cartwr.* or other their friendes mislike this course, let them censure their friend *Throkmorton* that gaue occasion of this offence, no lesse grievous to my selfe, then to them.

The first man that is cast ouerthwart mee, is *M. Egerton*. yet I wonder he should be preferred before *M. Cartwr.* being neither in learning, nor in labour for the cause of the Consistorie, to bee compared vnto him. Of *M. Egertons* wrongs this man complaineth greatly, and sayeth *hee ought not to regarde vncharitable dealing, when as Master Egerton a man so reuerend, and for whose holy prayers her Maiestie and the State doeth prosper the better, can by no meanes escape the sting of<sup>1</sup> enuened mouths.* Wherein hee is like those foolish Poets which are laughed at, because they lamented the tragicall calamities of *Troy*, without consideration of their owne miseries and dangers. so many pitie *Master Throkmorton* that pleadeth for others, being no way carefull of his owne trouble, nor able to aunswere for himselfe.

<sup>1</sup> I know none whose mouth is more blacke, or tongne more enuened, then *M. Throkmortons*.

But who is *M. Egerton*, that may no way bee touched? *M. Throkmorton* sayeth hee is a reuerend man. Bee he so in the account of his followers (for I will not for this time examine his learning nor merits.) yet may not reuerend men abuse more reuerend then themselves. nor may they maintaine conuenticles of *malcontents*, nor oppose themselves against all antiquitie, against whome if *M. Egerton* be compared, hee deserueth neither credite, nor reuerence. He may not make the Pulpit a place of reuenge, nor a sanctuarie to degorge his malice in without danger, as hee did against mee, nor a denne of *malcontentment*. this is not the part either of reuerend, wise, or charitable men: nor doing these things must hee looke to bee exempt from reproofe.

Further he saith, *that for his holy prayers her Maiestie and the whole estate fareth better*, admit it were so; so doth the state fare the better for many other more godly men then he, which notwithstanding



withstanding doe not therefore claime exemption from lawes. But what if his prayers be inuectiues? what if stuffed with malice? what if impertinent, and more full of zeale then of wit? what if his prayer be entended against the state? wil *M. Throckmorton* notwithstanding so magnifie him, as if all the state depended vpon his praier? for my part I neuer heard him but once, and then I marked in his prayers nothing that good was, but ordinary; and I haue heard others more able to iudge then my selfe, that ioyned with me in the same opinion concerning his gift that way; extraordinary holinesse certes, there is none in them at all. nay, if they were all like to that which I heard; there was nothing in them greatly to be commended, the Queenes stile was omitted, the prelates of this land as it were left out of the communion of Christ his Church, and many glances and grudges at lawes and orders, but all this was nothing to that which foloweth. Praying vnto God, he did ouerthrow the diuinitie of the holy Ghost, by whom our hearts and mindes are stirred vp to pray. It may be you will wonder how so reuerend a man as *Throckmorton* calleth him, could fall into so grosse an error: neither did I my selfe lesse wonder at him when I heard him. But true it was; for he called the holy Ghost, *the sanctified spirit of God*: and that diuers times to let vs vnderstand that it was no casuall slip of his tongue. Now if the holy Ghost be sanctified, then is he lesse then the sonne, and lesse then the Father, which is the error of the Arrians, and was defended more grossely by the folowers of *Macedonius*, that denied the holy Ghost to bee God. *De<sup>1</sup> patre & filio procedit ad sanctificandam creaturam.* He proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, say<sup>11.</sup> the fathers of a certaine council at Toledo, and is the author of sanctification in all creatures. he is coequall with the father and the sonne, as *Athanasius* teacheth. he is the fountaine and author of all holines, & not a spirit sanctified or receiuing holines. he is God that annointeth the faithfull with all spirituall graces. he is the<sup>2</sup> spirit of trueth, that teacheth vs all trueth.<sup>2 Ioh. 16.</sup>

That he should be called the sanctified spirite, or receiue influence of sanctimonie, is a strange point of faith condemned in termes.<sup>3 Nazianz.</sup> Πνεῦμα θεῦ, saith Nazianzene λέγεται πνεῦμα χριστοῦ, & c. πνεῦμα σοφίας, σοφίᾳ καὶ ἀγνῶσι  
συμβούσιος, βουλῆς, ἰσχύος, γνῶσεως, ὁσιότητος, φόβου θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ποιητικῶς τέτρωται ἀπὸ πάντων, πάντα τὰ πνεύματος.



## An answer vnto

ἡσία πληροῦ, πάντα σωζον, πληροποιον κόσμους καὶ ἡσία, αἱ χάριτες κόσμους καὶ ἡσία  
 μι, ἀγαθόν, ὁδὸς, ἡγαμονικὸν φύσει ἔστιν, ἀγίαζον ἐκ ἀγ. ἀγ. ἄνθρωπον; μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστι μετ' αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Damasc. lib. I.  
de fide.

<sup>2</sup> Melancth. loc.  
com. c. de filio.

wherein *Nazianzen* determineth that the holy Ghost is the spirite of God sanctifying, *and not sanctified*. Likewise <sup>1</sup> *Damascene* beleeueth and teacheth, that the holy Ghost is the fountaine of wisdom, life, and holines, πληροῦ ἔστι πληροῦ ἄνθρωπον, ἀγίαζον ἐκ ἀγ. ἀγ. ἄνθρωπον. and so later writers haue attributed sanctification to the holy Ghost, that they call him *the* <sup>2</sup> *sanctifying spirite*. Now then failing in such a material point, it is to bee thought his prayers did not exceed in holinesse; and suppose hee had failed in nothing, yet there is no cause, that the preservation of the state should bee more imputed to him, then to the prayers of euery good man. especially if his prayers be extemporall, and such as his consortes vse to poure foorth, wherein commonly there is more zeale then wit, and wordes, then reason or coherence; much clamour, litle order; deepe sighing, litle deuotion; yea, sometimes great pretence of holinesse, and yet litle charitie.

But wherein is this reuerend man *on whose prayers all England doeth depend*, as *Throkemorton* imagineth, wherein (I say) is hee wronged? *he could not*, saith he, *escape the sting of their enuened mouthes, and was very homely used as is sayd*. and this saith he also, *it may be the lady* to whom he writeth, *hath heard*. But if she be a lady of honour, as he affirmeth, she is; then I suppose she hath no laisure to heare such friuolous toyes, nor, I trust, list or pleasure to heare honest men scorned and reuiled. Such reportes onely feed enuious, malicious, and base people, and not honourable personages. Howsoeuer this lady bee affected to the cause, yet I doubt not, but indifferent men will heare the same before they giue sentence. If they doe, these malicious and reprochfull wordes of serpentine tongues, and poysoned mouthes will easilie bee answered. and that so, as neither this make-bate shall haue cause to cauill, nor master *Egerton* cause to complaine of wrong, or desire to heare any more of this matter. *Throkemorton* telleth what hee hath heard, but hee telleth not all, and lothe I beleue hee will bee to heare all. that which he omitteth, if he will haue patience, hee shall now vnderstand.

Vpon the publication of my answer to the petition of certaine



caine disciplinarians, I heard that master *Egerton* tooke it very impatiently to see himselfe named in the questions. and that thereupon hee began publikely in his sanctuarie at the Blacke friers to inueigh against me. the which hee did so bitterly and plainely, that the report thereof flewe abroad, and came to my eares. I marvelled when first I heard it, that such a man, so milde and meeke, as hee is reported to bee, should make the place of teaching faith, a publike Theatre to publish reproch, and that he would make the pulpit, which is a place to teach humilitie and meekenesse, a place of reuenge, and hatefull inueighing. And although I were well acquainted with the inuectiue humour of this railing fraternitie; yet did I take him to be a more modest and sober man, then the rest of his felowes. Therefore did I say litle of it, vntill such time as I had heard him speake, which I desired the rather, because I thought I could shew reason of my doings, and hoped to satisfie him, if hee were not very vnreasonable. if not, yet I thought I should bee resolued, whether he had so inueighed against me or no. Hereupon it was, that meeting him in Paules church, I came to him, and after I had saluted him in curteous maner, I did in quiet sort desire to know of him, whether it was true or no, that he did so inueigh against me publikely or no; and if he did, what reason he had so to doe, and how hee could iustifie his doing. neither did I expect any answer, but good, comming to him in friendly sort. Howbeit, he contrary to my expectation grew into choler, & waxed pale, and when his affections suffred him to speake, he began very disdainfully, and as I thought, vncurteously to reprocue me, saying, *that I had abused him, and bene abused.* which answer and insolence, I confesse, I did not well digest, and the rather for that not long before I had trial of his great skill in diuinitie, when I heard him pray, *to the sanctified<sup>1</sup> spirite of God,* & knew him not to be the man for which he is taken, ignorantly slipping in a fundamentall point of faith, not doubting, but if I had heard him oft, I should haue heard him teach many strange pointes of doctrine. Therefore did I put him in minde that he was but a base fellow, and much forgot himselfe to take on him that countenaunce of grauitie, wanting his vizarde with a beard, and to presume as it were out of the chaire to teach

<sup>1</sup> It shalbe prooued to him by othe of seuerall persons, if he denie it.



teach me my duetie himselfe being ignorant both of diuinitie and ciuilitie, I added also such words as well fitted his insolencie, yet not in this sort as this vnciuil man reporteth. neither do I thinke doctor *White* will say any such matter, who seemed to me to be much sory to see *M. Egerton* to bee surprised without answere, saying onely that he did not say *sanctified spirit*, wherein he did nothing but double his fault, adding impudence to ignorance, for that which I say, if he list, hee shall haue prooued to his face.

But suppose there had wordes passed more then seemely, I trust *M. Egerton* will not challenge to himselfe that perfection, that hee then faulted in nothing. Besides this, it is much lesse fault to offend in priuate speach, then to make the Church of God a place to egest the bitternesse of his choler, and his auditors witnesses of his iniurie and malice, neither can I chuse but wonder, seeing I was content to forgiue publike iniury, and to impute his great slip to ignorance, and to bury it in silence, that he will suffer this malepert babler to note mee with this small vnkindnesse, and that vnruly too. Certes, I would be lothe priuately to imitate the inciuitie and scurrilitie which the brotherhood of deformation haue publikely vsed. Of all men *M. Throkemorton* hath least cause to talk of kitchen rhetorike, hauing set a flourish of scurrilitie vpon the bookes set out vnder the name of *Martin*, and daubed all his discourses with villany and ribaldry, such as not only his kitchen maides, but his horse boies would bee ashamed to vtter in priuate, much more in publike. and this he did not in priuate conference, but in bookes printed, not vpon the sodaine being wronged, but vpon deliberate malice against those men, whom all godly men doe honour, which neuer iniured him. such a braue cutter in kitchen rhetorike is he. neither need he to put vs in mind of his facultie therein: for we are but too much acquainted with it. Least of all should he haue bragged how nimble hee is able to raile *without sweate or pains*. for his vein therin is not allowed by his friends, & of good men much abhorred. the greater his skill is therein, the lesse is his prayse. And therefore if he meane to vse his skill therein against me, I will turne him ouer to be carried by horseboies, & parboiled by his scolding kitchen maides. With *M. Egerton* if he



he like, I will deale otherwise. Neither shall hee or other complain if he speake vntueth, or vtter his malcontentment against the state, that he is not orderly and sufficiently confuted. Albeit what need I contend, when that which hath bene said, standeth yet, and that booke which this fellow calleth a declamation, and is indeed no curious worke being framed on the sudden, when I had other matters in hand, yet is it such a worke as diuers lay downe, when they haue rashly taken it vp, and more doe calumniate, and raile at, then answere?

Throkmorton.

*But this is not all. for both he and the<sup>1</sup> conspiracie doe dresse him another way, though in wordes nothing so grossely, yet in weight and consequent, full as bitingly as this, and that by a pretie conueiance or sleight of a<sup>2</sup> finger called inuerfio. for whereas M. Egerton perswasion to Copinger was (as I haue heard) to this effect, and in<sup>3</sup> this forme, to wit, that albeit he would be loath to quench the spirit, or kill any zeale in him, especially in this cold and frosen age of ours, wherein for the most part men had so litle hunger & thirst after the word: yet he was certainly perswaded, that those supposed reuelations of his were nothing els, but meere illusions of Satan, whose subiltie he should in any wise beware of, least he were seduced and misseled by him, &c. whereas, I say, his speeches were thus framed, how doeth M. Sutcliffe, and the pretended conspiracie handle the matter? why, even thus Madame, and I pray you<sup>4</sup> marke it for your learning, because it may serue your La. for a hand-some paterne to measure all the rest by. they play hysteron proteron with him, that is, they turne the cat in the panne, setting the cart before the horse, bringing in that first, which should be last, and that last which should be first, to wit, that he should wisely & circumspectly take heed hee were not misseled by the subiltie of Satan, &c. but withall, say<sup>6</sup> they, the said M. Eger. concluded, that he would be loath to quench the spirit of God in him, or hinder his zeale, and why trowe you was this brought in last for a conclusion, which was in deed as a preamble and first entrance into his speach? because otherwise it would not haue wounded this<sup>7</sup> renowned paraphrast deep inough, nor haue stucke by his ribs so long. but now marshalled as it is in the rereward, and so cast in the eie, it is like inough to leaue the deeper impression, & remembrance in mens brests, that certainly this*

<sup>1</sup> Doe you call vs conspirators?

<sup>2</sup> Or, figure.

<sup>3</sup> Yet Copinger, whose words we report, setteth it downe in that forme which we haue written.

<sup>4</sup> There is nothing for your aduantage.

<sup>5</sup> That is, the play of the confistorian discipline, that turneth all vpside downe.

<sup>6</sup> And so saith Copinger whose words we report.

<sup>7</sup> Wil you giue him these termes too?

I

Egerton



1 A matter very  
apparent.

2 She may iustly  
thinke you to be  
a vaine man,

Egerton (though he vsed a litle faire flourish in the beginning) was yet very <sup>1</sup> unwilling that Copinger should desist and giue ouer his course, and therefore it was that hee would quench no zeale in him, and how thinke <sup>2</sup> you Madame, was not this nimble and charitably contriued against so reuerend a minister of the word?

Matth. Sutcliffe.

For my part I haue no priuate matter against *M. Egerton*, neither hath hee that gathered the notes concerning *Hackets* conspiracie for the discipline, wherein *M. Eger.* name is a litle blemished. if either he or I, do touch his or any other mans credit, it is because they haue engaged the same in their outrageous writings, sermonings and dealings tending to the ouerthrow of the church, & erection of their consistorie. Besides, when all our doings tended to the maintaining of the true faith, against the common enemy that would smoothe ouer and commend vnto vs the corruptions of poperie, this faction hindering the godly purposes of diuers godly men, & discouraging them; who doeth not see that men haue iust cause to note, and to repress their odious proceedings? I am therefore to pray *M. Eger.* & therest to ioine with vs against them, or els to haue patience to see themselves named, & their doings reprobued, where they come ouerthwart vs, & taking part with seditious persons, oppose themselves against those, that would more willingly bend their whole force against the common aduersarie. if they haue learning, why doe they not shew it against the common enemy? there they may win praise, & bring great profite vnto the church. but they had rather bee hacking at the orders of the church, and cutting the houghs of friends, & ioine with the that seeke the pillage of the church, & by the are hired as it were with a messe of whitebroth to betray the inheritance & birthright of the church. So long as they do thus, they must looke to heare a iust censure of their doings; but if they continue, not words, but lawes must restrain the.

Here is great fault found by *M. Throk.* that *M. Eger.* should be noted as a man not willing to quench any zeale in Copinger, one of the principal actors in *Hackets* conspiracie, & lothe that he should desist from his course. and this he supposeth to be uncharitable & unjust dealing, for that as he saith, we haue by sleight of a finger inuerterd his words, and peruerterd his meaning, and turned cart before the horse.



horfe. But I wonder he was not ashamed to charge vs so vniustly, and to insist vpon it, & to propose this as a paterne of our doings, wherein there appeareth nothing in vs to be reprov'd, or in them to be commended; & finally that he durst stirre this filthy and stinking puddle of their deuises smelling as ranke as that of Camarina. For first, it is false that we charge him as consenting to *Copinger*, or loth to quench his zeale. I do only aske the question. he that writ the discourse of *Hackets* conspiracie (which this man seeming to allow, calleth still *pretended*) doeth shew that he did very faintly discourage him. now vnlesse discouragement be liking, there is no trueth in this accusation. neither is *Eger*. so dressed as *Throk*. imagineth, that for dressing him, trimmeth vs, as if he had bene by occupation a shauer. Secondly, it is vtterly vnttrue, that we do inuert *Eger*. words. how is *Throk*. able to prooue it? he saith *that he hath heard so*. but what if he haue heard vntrueth? then may I say that *Throk*. is *quinault*, and at the end of his roll. I might say also marke this for a patern of *Throk*. strong proofes, all standing vpon his own saying, & vpon hearesay. But what should I folow such a brainlesse guide in such simple obseruations? *M. Throk*. saith, that his wordes stood, as he hath set downe. but the letter if it may be scene, sheweth contrary, & <sup>1</sup> *Copinger* doeth gather euen those words that we haue set downe, *viz. that M. Egerton concluded that he would be lothe to quench the spirit of God in him, or to hinder his zeale*. If then it had not bene so, yet it appeareth, that *Copinger* tooke it so. neither is there any fault in vs that report *Copingers* words. what then wil *Throk*. say if it were so in deed? what if *Eger*. letter shew it? what if it be to be gathered of the words by him set downe? where is now this *legierdemaine*, & sleight of fingers? where is this figuratiue inuersion? sure in *M. Throk*. that they say is very nimble with his fingers, & with his biforked tongue also, and not in vs, whom he can no way charge with vntueth, or cunning in this matter, that it is to be gathered of *Egertons* letter, *Copinger* declareth; that it is to bee collected of the wordes set downe by *Throk*. is apparant, for that which rhetoricians would conclude, that they put first, and therefore call it *the proposition*. Admit then in writing that be put first, *that he would be lothe to quench the spirit*, yet that was *Egertons* intention and purpose, for els he would

<sup>1</sup> In his letter to Lancaster, to be scene vnder his owne hand writing.



## An answer vnto

haue argued better against Copinger, & vsed more plain termes, he would haue detected his dangerous purposes, hee would at lest in his sermons haue paraphrased so, y<sup>e</sup> Copinger should haue sucked no such conceite from him. his dealings being such, hee may accompt himselfe well dealt w<sup>th</sup>, that he is rather noted for his light paraphrases, that so much please his womē hearers, then for his conference with Copinger, his writing and dealing with him, yea, his <sup>1</sup>ioyning with him in many of his prayers, fastings and practises. Whosoever shall compare our doings with his, he shall finde ours charitable, his simple; our sayings true, his counterfeit. nay, we haue not so much as displaced his words, turning anything *hysteron proteron*, but directly reported Copingers words to Lancaster. If he be therefore hencefoorth offended with any, let him be offended with his disciple and follower Copinger, that (if any did) misplaced this reuerend mans wordes, and not with vs, that deale with him in good termes, & pardon many faults, and onely relate trueth.

M. Throkmorton.

*But yet mee thinke that which doeth exceed all the rest in<sup>2</sup> weight of malice, and doeth most lay open the very sting and venime of the heart is this, that M. Sutcliffe will needs make him a misliker, and as it were an enuier of her maiesties honourable, princelike, and roiall apparance in the beginning of the parliament: a thing,<sup>3</sup> that I dare sweare is farre from his heart. and therefore what soeuer it shal please M. Sutcliffe to say in this regard, (yea, though he should herein<sup>4</sup> write against him till his eyes were dimme) yet I am perswaded, he shall neuer while hee liues, get any man of conscience and iudgement, that knowes the man to beleue it. nay I durst, me thinkes, <sup>5</sup>pawne my life vpon it (and so, I doubt not, would many of his betters) that there is no man liuing vnder the sunne, that doeth more from his heart desire the true blessednesse of her maiestie.<sup>6</sup> namely, that she might be beloved of God, and highly honoured in the eyes of men, then doeth M. Egerton, as may sufficiently<sup>7</sup> appeare, both by his daily teaching and prayers, whereof there are witnesses enough, though I should be silent. notwithstanding all which M. Sutcliffe (as a<sup>8</sup> man that careth not what he say, so he may be biting) will prooue it otherwise, you shall see, and that out of his owne letter to his brother Fenne, pag. 199.*

<sup>1</sup> This appeareth by Copingers letters.

<sup>2</sup> Here is great weight of words, the matters being as light as feathers, yea, as Throkmortons conceits.

<sup>3</sup> Be not rash to sweare.

<sup>4</sup> I haue other matters to do, then to write against such trifling aduersaries.

<sup>5</sup> But do not, sure his betters, they be wise, will not.

<sup>6</sup> A simple definition of true blessednesse.

<sup>7</sup> The contrary appeareth rather, his prayers and teaching rather tending to the correction of the consistorie, then Gods church.

<sup>8</sup> If Throk. cared what he sayd, he would not thus bite & raile without reason.

For



For doeth he not say there, that she went thither *juxta nomis phantasiae*, that is, (as he interpretes it) with great ostentation and pompe, which wordes, saith he, S. Paul useth, condemning the vanitie of Agrippa, and Beronice. Wherein, Madame, either through his haste, or through the heate and unrulinesse of his passions (for I will neuer attribute it to his want of iudgement) he hath made vs at the least two or three foule<sup>1</sup> unauoydable slips. For first where he will needes haue the wordes to be S. Pauls, he must giue vs leaue for once (because hee is a<sup>2</sup> traueiler) to answer him with the<sup>3</sup> *sauf vostre grace monsieur*, S. Paul wee dare warrant hath no such wordes. The wordes in deede that he hath there quoted, are S. Lukes, who I take it was the penner of the story of the *Actes*, and not S. Paul. Secondly to omit the slippe of Beronice (who dwelles sure either in Rome or in Portingale, for in Hierusalem or in the Scripture there is<sup>4</sup> none such to bee found I beleene) where he saith, the wordes are used by S. Paul in condemnation of the vanitie of Agrippa, by his fauour and vnder correction, we<sup>5</sup> deny that, that, we say, is but his owne Comment and conceit, neither are the wordes, as we thinke, used to any such ende as he supposeth, to wit, to reprove and reproch the King with,<sup>6</sup> but onely as a bare, and plaine declaration, & laying open of the trueth of that royall pompe and magnificence, which is both vsuall and allowable in great princes and states in their solemne assemblies. And that this is true, (if<sup>7</sup> poore M. Beza, Iunius, Villerius, Camerarius, and such as they bee, were not of late by strange mishappe flatly<sup>8</sup> excommunicated by M. Sutcliffe for their ignorance and want of iudgement) I could easily put him out of doubt. For M. Bezacs words vpon the place are these: *hic quidem certum est hoc nomine declarari speciosum regiae magnificentiae splendorem in spectantium oculos incurrentem &c.* that is to say, here it is manifest, that in this word *phantasia* is layd open to vs the beautifull glittering and glorious excellencie of that royall magnificence, that doeth flash as it were into the eyes of the beholders, &c. Further, in the marginall note vpon Tremelius published, as I thinke, by allowance of the state, this worde *Phantasia* is thus interpreted, *id est regio apparatus*, that is, in princely preparation and furniture, which can in no sort bee taken in euill sence. All which M.<sup>9</sup> Beza seemes to fortifie and confirme by th<sup>e</sup> authoritie and testimonie of sundry ancient and learned Greeke writers, as namely Aristotle, Hippocrates, Possidonius. and if this

<sup>1</sup> Hold fast, if you haue such holde.

<sup>2</sup> A greater fault it is to be a trifler, then a traueiler.

<sup>3</sup> It should be *saue la vostre bonne grace*, to speake congrue

<sup>4</sup> A ridiculous conceit.

<sup>5</sup> It is an easie matter for euery sot to deny a trueth.

<sup>6</sup> This comment is bare, and contrary to the text.

<sup>7</sup> He is not poore, vlesse the disciplinarians by spending stil his credit haue made him poore.

<sup>8</sup> I doe reuerence them rather. in this cause they are on my side.

<sup>9</sup> Neither can it be gathered of M. Bezacs nor of others words, that the words in question are taken in good part,



## An answer unto

<sup>1</sup> A fit Iudge  
to determine  
questions, about  
Greeke transla-  
tions.

<sup>2</sup> Not one taketh  
them in good  
part, which M.  
Throk. without  
sence calleth  
sence.

<sup>3</sup> Th. aqu. 2. 2.  
9. 36. art. 1.

be so, Madame, then <sup>1</sup>indge you I pray you who was more to blame, he which simply and barely layes downe the wordes of the story (which the very best <sup>2</sup> interpreters doe take in good sense) or he that thus unconscionably wresteth and wringeth them to make a man so wel deserving of Gods Church, seeme thrice odious and hatefull to the state.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Here is much vaine talke and many loftie words, & swelling termes, but little ground of matter. much like therefore is *M. Throk.* talke, to an ape walking on stilts: tal in shew, in effect nothing but a ridiculous ape, mounted higher then nature made him. for much he talketh of *malice*, of *weight*, of *excesse*, of *stinging* & of *venim*, and yet when he hath said al, he can say nothing to make his words good, but that I aske *M. Egerton* a question. He saith, *I will needs make him as it were an enuier of her Maiesties royal apparance in the beginning of the Parliament.* but there is no word in the question that importeth *envy*, nor is any such collection to be made of my words. I should do him some wrong, if I should so charge him. For <sup>3</sup>*envy is a sorow conceived for the prosperitie of others, which our selues desire, & hope to attaine.* Now I do not thinke that *M. Eger.* desireth to walke in his roabes like a Lord (for he condemneth y<sup>e</sup> title vtterly) nor that he would haue the lords of the Cōsistory to haue consistorial robes much like to the Parliament robes. for he seemeth not greatly to desire any such brauery. it was therefore rather presumption & folly wherein he faulted, then envy. for what hath he y<sup>e</sup> is newly crept out like a snake out of his den at the *blacke friers*, to censure, not only the clergy whom he calleth in that letter *cornutum*, but princes doings.

Secondly it is vnttrue that *I wil needs make him a misliker of her Maiest. princely apparance.* I haue no need so to do. and if either rather would I make him like it, then mislike it. to mislike orders and customes the man is prone, & ready ynough of himself, and needeth neither encouragement nor perswasion. his cōpanions in other places, do shew what they would doe here, if they had might equal to their malice, and pride. they haue called kings, princes & rulers before them, they haue made them answer before their tribunal seat, they haue prescribed them orders, & censured their misdemeanors. yea & *Egerton* himselfe is stil running countre in cōdemning lawes & orders, & grating against the gouernment, & closely as he may vnderpropping the ruines of the discor-



discornifstibulated Consistory, & cōmending certaine strange felows called churchaldermen or elders, y are part ecclesiastical, part lay men, & like otters liue, part by water part by land: sometime ruling in Church, sometime working on shopbord, sometime on shipbord. elders by name, yet lately come frō *newfoundland*, in certaine Westerne ships laden with *poore Iohns*. an euil presage for the ministry, of whom they would make poore parsons, & *pooures gens*. Very gallant felowes to rule princes, according to that which *Wigginton* saith, or singeth in certaine rimes,

*A Christian true, saith he, although he be a Clowne,  
May teach a King to weare Sceptre and Crowne.*

So Westerne men call that kinde of fish, that they take at the Newfoundland.

But admit I should affirme directly & categorically that *M. Eger*. did in deed mislike her *Maiesties* royal entry at the beginning of the parliament, where in trueth, douting of his meaning, or skil in y *Greeke* tongue I made only a question of it; yet where is that weight of malice, or y sting and venime of the heart, that *M. Thro.* in such weightie & high words cōplaineth of? is there such exceeding malice in propounding a question? Why, the authors of the *Petition* aske vs very many, & very strange questiōs. Is it such an hainous offence to examine an alderman of y *blacke Friers*? *M. Throk*, knoweth that the foresaid authors haue examined and questioned with as good men, as *M. Egerton*. if then there be any malice here shewed, it is in *M. Throkmortons* heart, if any venime, it is in his poysoned & serpentine tongue, wherewith he hisseth, and would wound honest men if he could; it is he that exceedeth, it is he that would sting if he had might.

That *M. Egerton* did mislike & censure her *Maiesties* princely port & apparance in going to the parliament, it is most cleare, if a man may beleue him on his word. his wordes are very plaine, and without al excuse. She went thither, saith he, *μετὰ πολλῆς φειρασίας*, that is as *Beza* trāslateth frō whom they may not Itrow dissent, *cum multa ostentatione*; i. with great ostētation or boast of their glory. *Tremellius* hath, *cū fastu multo* i with much pride. The old latin interpreter turneth y words thus, *Cum multa ambitione*, that is, *with ambitious ostentation of their riches*. *Isidorus Clarus*, & *Arias Montanus* do both trāslate, as doth y old latine interpreter. *H. Stephen* a man not vnknowne to vnderstand y *Greeke* phrase exceeding wel, in the marginal note vpō the *Greeke Testament*, translateth, *Cum magna pompa ostentatione*, that is, *with great ostentation*



An answer vnto

<sup>1</sup> In annotat. in  
illum loc. Act. 25.

tation of their pompe. Which translation he iustificieth in his great Greeke Lexicon. μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, that is, saith <sup>1</sup> Erasmus, cum multa ostentatione, nos strepitum siue apparatus possumus dicere. i. With great ostentation; we may call it noyce, or preparation. Which interpretation is not only of late writers, but also of the fathers as appeareth by Beda. Now then vnlesse as Iob did wickedly kill Abner, so this Iob can kill or discredit all these interpreters, or by some alchymisticall transmutation can change pride and ambition into comelines, and vice into vertue, and darkenesse into light, and commend ostentation and vaine pompe which the holy Ghost condemneth; it is most apparantly true, that M. Egerton condemned & misliked her Maiesties royall apparance in going to the Parliament, as full of pride, vaine glory, & ostentation. for so the wordes which he vseth doe signifie.

<sup>2</sup> Fennes answered in the Starre chamber, ad inter. 1.

<sup>3</sup> M. Eg. cōdemneth and censurēth the whole Parliament, as an assembly of whose deliberations no good, but rather hurt was to be expected.

<sup>4</sup> See how these fellowes intertaine intelligence one with another.

<sup>5</sup> He doeth not giue any note of honour, to the late L. Chanc.

<sup>6</sup> They are not so much worth.

<sup>7</sup> Would you thinke y<sup>e</sup> M. Eg. would vse such a spitefull word against so many learned, and reuerend men?

<sup>8</sup> 1. Secta. nam ita Cic. ita Iren.

<sup>9</sup> The subscription of Grammer boyes.

Yea the whole drift of his letter, is to shew his dislike of matters, and to reprove what hee disliked. that you may perceiue this to be true, and be acquainted with the *Blacke friers* latine, I haue thought good here to insert his whole letter written to his brother Fenne, that very same man <sup>2</sup> who in the Starre chamber being examined, whether in euery Christian monarchy there ought to be certaine Ephori or officers who should haue authoritie vpon some cause by any meanes to remooue or take away the Christian King from his gouernement, answered, that he was not bound to answer. He meant percase not onely to correct this πολλὴν φαντασίαν that Egerton speaketh of, but to remoue those Kings, and magistrates that like not of the Eldership, from their places.

¶ Egertons words are these:

Nos, saith he, nihil <sup>3</sup> boni expectamus in causa Religionis: potius timemus aliquid mali. vos <sup>4</sup> neminem misisse miramur. FERIA 2. Regina ad Parlamentum iuit μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας. <sup>5</sup> Cancellarius in oratione sua de rebus Ecclesie verbum nullum (quantum audio) tantum de periculo & ingenti sumptu belli prateriti & impendentis loquutus est. ex quo quid consequatur non est difficile coniectura assequi. Vale mi chariss. frater & literas meas <sup>6</sup> boni consulas. D. Sti! concionem habuit ad <sup>7</sup> cornutū clerū, & licet pro illo hominū genere non acerbè, tamen satis detractoriè contra <sup>8</sup> disciplina fautores inuentus est.

<sup>9</sup> Tuus dum suus

Egerton.

The



The whole letter conteineth nothing but cōplaints, reprofes, and reproches of her *Maiesties* estate, of the parliament, of my Lord Chancellor that dead is, and of the whole Clergie. Of the Parliament, he saith, he had cause rather to feare hurt, then to expect any good, a matter derogatory to the honour of that assembly. the L. Chancellor he passeth by with scorne. the whole clergie he <sup>1</sup> derideth with bad termes. and do we thinke that he that spareth none, would honor her Princely estate, which many *Cynicks* accompt vaine? Why then doth he charge me with lightnesse, as if I cared not what I said, when I haue brought that weight of authoritie & reason grounded vpon his owne words, that he shall neuer be able to eleuate? which is also confirmed euen by the text of Scripture, and meaning of the holy Ghost. For who can perswade himselfe, that the holy Ghost doeth in those words allow the vanitie of a proud man, and a proud woman whom <sup>2</sup> heathen histories, & not only <sup>3</sup> ecclesiastical do testifie to haue bin most wicked, & to haue liued incestuously together? why doth he also charge me with biting, whose termes are so gentle, when he would acquite himselfe whose words are so very bitter, and biting? these outcries therefore of *M. Thro.* concerning malice, stinging, and biting, are nothing but vaine words of a clamorous & ignorant aduersary, that hath nothing to say for his cause. Neither doth it auaille him any whit, that *Beza* in his annotations saith, *that by the words* *μεγαλὸν κράτος φαντασίας* *is meant the magnificent shew of a princes state.* for either doth *Beza* condemne this magnificent shew as full of pride, or els in his glosse doeth he condemne his owne text, translating *cum multa ostentatione*, that is, *with much boasting.* Vnto the note vpon *Tremellius* I say likewise, that either that note doth contrary *Tremellius*, that translateth *cum fastu multo. i. with much pride*, or els he doeth condemne the royal Maiestie of a prince as vaine. *Villerius*, and *Camerarius* I do reuerence as men learned, but I cannot see anything in them, or in any other *Greeke* authour that maketh for *Throkmortons* cause. If he do presse this matter yet further, let him shew where *Beza* or *Tremellius* or any good authour vseth these wordes in good part. in the meane while let him vnderstand, that both the holy Ghost and all good interpreters do take the words in euil part. *Beza* mentioneth diuers

<sup>1</sup> Would ye expect this at M. Egertons hands?

<sup>2</sup> *Strabo* 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Beda, & Co. mestor.*



authors, but hee alleageth not their wordes: if he had, yet make they nothing for *M. Throkmortons* cause.

But saith *Throk*, I dare sweare, that it was farre fro *M. Egertons* heart to condemne her Maiest. royall apparance in going to the Parliament. to whō I answered first, *Quod aliud est iuramentum aliud argumentum*; and next, that he that lightly sweareth, oft-times forsweareth. I do therefore send him to the sonne of <sup>1</sup> *Syrach* to vnderstand, that it is impietie to sweare rashly. *Nemo est qui frequenter iurat*, saith <sup>2</sup> *Chrysostome*, *qui non aliquando peierat: sicut qui consuevit multa loqui, aliquando loquitur importuna*. There is none that sweareth often, that doth not sometimes forswere himselfe, even as he that talketh much, talketh sometimes unseasonably. In this case doubtles is *M. Throkorton*. for who wil not rather thinke, that *M. Egerton* meant as he spake, then belecue *Throk*. oath contrary to *M. Egertons* words? Should a man do wel to belecue such a mans oath as they of *Sparta* were, <sup>3</sup> *ἴσταν* (as *Aristoph.* saith) *ἔτι βου- μος, ἔτι πίστις, ἔτι ὅρκος μάλιστα*, I thinke rather as *Æschilus* saith, *ἔτι διδ' ὅς ὅρκος πίστις, ἔτι ὅρκων δὲ μάλιστα*. The man doeth rather credit his oath, then the oath the man. sure with men that know him, *M. Throkorton* will not winne much by swearing. He may therefore doe much better to leaue swearing and swaggering, together with his scurrilous rayling and his vaine iangling, and seeke out some good proofes of his sayings.

He saith therefore further, that albeit I should write against *M. Egerton* until mine eyes were dimme, yet I should not get any man of conscience and iudgement that knowes him, that will beleue mee. which is but a vaine supposall without reason. I haue other things to doe then to write against *M. Egerton*. neither would I now once name him, but that I am yrged. I do not maligne him, nor seeke commoditie by his hurt, nor praise by any conquest of him. Yet if I shall write against him, I doe not doubt, but any indifferent man will credit me rather, speaking with reason and in a good cause, then his hypocrisie in so desperat a cause as that of the consistory. neither neede any long labour, or late watching that may hurt my eyes to proue that which I shal auow; for it is most true, and his words doe testifie for me. and in taking a mans meaning contrary to his words and the drift of his letter, there is neither conscience, nor iudgement. But I gesse *M.*

*Throk-*

<sup>1</sup> *Syrach. 23.*

<sup>2</sup> *Chrys. in Matt. 5.*

<sup>3</sup> Which hath neither regard of Religion, faith, nor oath.



*Throkmorton* is very sorry, that I see so well, and that the sleights and deuises of that side, together with all their hypocrisie and false pretenses are so well scene. but howsoever well wee see, yet we can neither see reason, nor wit in him. Neither can he see any thing that good is to say for his client, albeit he hath spent his wits and much idle talke about it.

Therefore to strike a full blow at the parting, hee saith, *that he durst pawne his life in proofof M. Egertons innocencie.* But if he would pawne his soule, hee cannot recall wordes spoken, nor turne truth into falsehood. laying of wagers is but a simple kinde of argument. If his brainlesse head were layde on it, yet what can a man make of it more, then a foolish lay? *Master Egerton* is as hee is, and so is *M. Throkmorton* likewise: both well knownen to others; it were to be wished, they as well knew themselves. but whatsoeuer they are, they should not bee disquieted by me, if they would not come ouerthwart me. That they are not as is pretended, their conferences with *Copinger* and *Hacket*, their writings and woordes, their malcontent mindes, their euill disposition doe testifie. If *Master Egerton* would single himselfe from such as mislike her *Maiesties* godly reformation, why doeth hee not subscribe to her *Maiesties* Lawes, and giue her *Maiestie* her due stile, and shew himselfe obedient to Ecclesiasticall gouernours? why doth he not mislike and condemne all those seditious and bad practises that haue bene enterprised for the dissoluing of the Church gouernment, and erection of the Presbyterie?

But admit the man were a loyall subiect, and in all respects such as he should be and, had neuer hissed out of his den of malcontentment at the blacke Friers against her *Maiesties* Ecclesiasticall lawes; yet what a vaine and insolent bragge, or bragging wager is this for *Master Throkmorton* to pawne his life, that there is no man liuing vnder the Sunne, that doeth more from his heart desire the true blessednesse of her *Maiestie*, then *Master Egerton*? What? is there none of her Counsell, none of her Officers, none of her seruants, none of the Ministerie, none of the Laitie, and to comprise all in one worde, none of all her Subiects, that doeth more loue, honour, or respect her *Maiestie*, or desire the continuance of her prosperitie,



then *M. Egerton*? *M. Throkorton* hath said it, and he dare, as he saith, *pawne his life vpon it*. but he hath said it presumptuously, and gaged his life foolishly. for were hee an exceeding good man, and neuer touched nor blemished with any note of malcontentment, or conference with those blasphemous and traitorous companions *Hacket* and *Copinger*, yet were the comparison most vaine and odious, being so preiudicious to all those that haue neere places about her Maiestie. but being as is said, and may well be suspected, what doeth *Throkorton* deserue, who as if loyaltie consisted in disloyaltie, and obedience in disobedience grudge and malcontentment; so paragoneth and cōpareth a disobedient malcontent that breatheth out nothing but discontentment, and traineth vp others in discontentment, with her Maiesties most loyal louing and kinde subiects? what is this but to prefferre faction before subiection, and for the advancement of one litle deseruing, to debase so many wel deseruing and well affected subiects? It is no wonder therefore, if *Throk.* haue boldly railed against the Ecclesiasticall state, when he dare venture his life to disgrace the most honourable personages about her Maiestie, & that in so desperat a quarell. but did he venture neuer so farre to prooue that none liuing vnder the Sunne, nor (to comprehend the ecstematical and lunaticall superluminat brotherhood of deformation) in or about the moone, doth more desire her Maiesties good then *M. Eger.* doth, yet shal he winne nothing. he is wel knownen what he is, & what he hath spoken, and attempted against her Maiesties lawes & prerogative in causes Ecclesiasticall, & what he thinketh of her stile, and how he cōtendeth for the factious gouernmēt of the *presbytery*. and therefore bable *M. Throk.* what he list, and pawne his litleworth life, and his rattle-braind head, and swear & sweate when he wāteth prooffe, yet shal he winne no credite against such euident light of trueth. And thus much sufficeth in answer of his superlunaticall commendation of *M. Egerton*.

Now because he thinketh it not ynough to discharge him, vnles he can harme & charge me, he saith, *that either through heate, or hast, I haue made 2. or 3. vnauoydable slips*. ay me poore wretch, that am thus taken on the ground, my foote slipping. for, I see, I shall haue no fauour, nor mercie at *M. Throkortons* hands.



First, he telleth vs that I haue named Paul for Luke. wherein to deale plainely, there is an ouersight: but yet not so hainous as hee imagineth. for as Saint Marke wrote the Gospel after S. Marke by the helpe of S. Peter; so some hold that S. Luke wrote the gospell<sup>1</sup> after S. Luke and the Actes of the Apostles by the direction and aduise of S. Paule, whose companion in most of his peregrination hee was: and that S. Paul, when hee saith *my Gospel*, ment the Gospel written by S. Luke. If therfore the words written by Zacharie the prophet, are truely ascribed by S. Matthew vnto Ieremie, as S.<sup>2</sup> Augustine saith, because both wrote by one spirite; why may not the wordes of S. Luke be ascribed to S. Paul, not onely both writing by one spirite, but S. Luke writing the Gospel and Actes by the helpe of S. Paul, the holy ghost directing them both? but were it an escape, hath M. Throk. euē in this pamphlet committed no escape nor error? yes verely, and if he say contrary, I will not say, *saue la vostre grace*, for he hath litle grace in writing or speaking, but, *pardonnez moy*. for in deed the man needeth pardon, not only for the matter he wotteth of, but also here in this letter. for he nameth *Possidonius* for an author, yet was he onely mentioned in *Athenaus*, as *Henry Stephen*, and *Beza*, whom hee alleageth, might haue told him: he saith *the best interpreters take the word μετὰ τὸν αὐτὸν παρταίος*, in good sence (hee meaneth good part) yet doeth not one good interpreter so translate it, or take it. He saith *Beza* confirmeth his opinion by testimonie of diuers authors, yet doeth he not alleage one word out of any author. Other faults hee shall heare of in the sequele of this discourse.

Secondly, he chargeth me with translating *Beronice*, whereas the text hath Βερνικη, which he imagineth to bee fetched as farre as *Rome* or *Portugal*. but hee is much deceiued. for it is from the very text it selfe, though mollified to sound better, as I conceiued it in our English tongue, & to approach nerer to the Greeks, that cal this very woman<sup>3</sup> Βερνικη and Βερνικη. which if it be a fault, then is it a fault to name Moses for *Mosche*, Isay and Hieremie, for *Ieschahia* and *Iirmeia*, and for Ματθαῖος and Ιωάννης, to translate Matthew and Iohn; and to turne Hebrew names after our English fashion, which this gentleman though quarelsome and snappish, will not I trust reprocue. I wonder that he did not re-

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. eccles. hist. lib. 3. c. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Aug. de consens. euang. li. 3. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo lib. 16. & Tacit. hist. li. 2. borrowing that name from the Greekes calleth her Berenice.



## An answer vnto

prooue me for printing *Agryppa* with *y*, where it should haue bene with *i*, for that is such a fault as the other. both nothing materiall, but onely seruing to find *Throk* talke.

Thirdly, hee chargeth mee with misconstruing the wordes *ἡ πολλὴ φαντασία*, Acts 25. but this obiection is so answered already, that I suppose, I shall heare no more of it, and that master *Throkmorton*, albeit fantastically, will leaue his *πολλὴ φαντασία*, and his vaine ostentation, wherewith hee would amplifie things of nothing. These matters thus dispatched, I will now God willing answer to certaine other obiections of his, concerning two or three points of doctrine, wherein this man vainly imagineth that he hath taken me halting; his words are these.

### Throkmorton.

<sup>1</sup> All which considered, it seemes more then <sup>2</sup> strange to mee, that *Sutchiffe* should bee, so eagle eyed a censurer of other mens labours, and in the meane season, either through the <sup>3</sup> inflammation of the stomacke, or through the heate and unrulinesse of his affections, lay himselfe open to so many and palpable <sup>4</sup> aduantages as hee doeth. I confesse myselfe to bee no <sup>5</sup> match for him, neither haue I any purpose to <sup>6</sup> buckle with him that way, being as hee is, a great deale to hate, and too hard for me, and it may bee much better armed to maintaine an error, then such a one as I to defend a truth. but yet as a stander by, and not as one that hath any skill to handle the weapon myselfe, me <sup>7</sup> thinks I could easilie spee as farre of, where he might bee caught and <sup>8</sup> crosse-bitten, if any man of abilitie and iudgement would vouchsafe to take him in hand. For prooffe whereof, in the very first leafe of that <sup>9</sup> inuective preface of his to my lord *Anderson*, where hee so straineth and <sup>10</sup> striueth, to make master *Fenners* and master *Cattwrights* diuinitie, no better then heresie, you may easilie discern (if you please *Madame*) how the master comptroller of others, hath manifestly broached vs, a piece of <sup>11</sup> strange and new found diuinitie himselfe. All <sup>12</sup> religions (saith he) teach that the sonne is borne of the father, which is the characteristicall difference of that person. can you tell what to make of this <sup>13</sup> *Madame*? if you cannot, no more I beleene can hee

<sup>1</sup> This all, God wor, is but litle.

<sup>2</sup> Trueth is strange to ignorant persons.

<sup>3</sup> Hote words, cold proofes.

<sup>4</sup> Why doeth he not then hold them fast?

<sup>5</sup> Was he then wise to make this match with me?

<sup>6</sup> If he buckle with me a while, he will be at buckle and bare thong.

<sup>7</sup> He abuseth himselfe so to thinke: men of learning refuse the encounter.

<sup>8</sup> A common word of coniecatchers, taken out of *Rob. Greenes* records.

<sup>9</sup> Cease railing.

<sup>10</sup> I neither straine, nor strue, it is so readie for the hand.

<sup>11</sup> The doctrine is sound, and his fantasie fond. <sup>12</sup> I say, all religion, not all religions. <sup>13</sup> Can his lady iudge of diuine mysteries?

that



that coined it. I confesse I haue read in my dayes, and it is a part of my faith still, that the sonne was \* begotten of the father before all worldes. but borne of the father, as wee in our English tongue vnderstand it, I doe not beleene is to bee found in any creede in the world, but onely in this new<sup>1</sup> Sutcliuiian creede of ours.

\* The sonne is indifferently sayd borne and begotten of the father.

<sup>1</sup> It is the faith of diuers counsels and fathers.

Further, I cannot but muse that he being a scholer, as he is, would euer suffer difference of the person to passe the print, without some reuocation, razure, or correction, seeing it was neuer heard of, I trow, before now, that in the godhead there should be any<sup>2</sup> difference of the persons at all, but onely a distinction. Sure if one of these Puritans had<sup>3</sup> written thus, we should haue had old adoe I beleene. As to that other new refined and farre fet phrase of his, of characteristickall, being so pregnant and proper for the place where it is set, because I see neither<sup>4</sup> diuinitie nor sense in it, nor am able to discern why it should come in rusteling here, vnesse it bee onely for the bare noyse and sound of it, I willingly leaue it to those that be of a deeper reach then my selfe, to make somewhat of it. But one of the speciall things that I would wishe your Ladship, and all others to note in master Sutcliffe, is this, that among the writers of our age, you shall not lightly finde a more<sup>5</sup> bolde, peremptorie, and resolute man in the world then hee. for prooffe whereof, marke I pray you, how of one of the woorthiest and most accomplished diuines of our age, and of that conference, that for the excellencie of the worke, is<sup>6</sup> thought by the learned to bee unmatched (as if his worde, or a cast of his countenance were sufficient to change the face of the heauens, and to turne light into darkenesse) hee<sup>7</sup> giueth this slight and brazen censure, to wit, that it was long forlooth, and without effect. What must such men as I looke for at his handes, when such works as that is, and such men as master<sup>8</sup> Reinolds is, are of no greater account and estimation in his eyes? but I doe not thinke madame, that there is any man in the world (if he be not<sup>9</sup> smitten with the giddinesse of the braine) that is of his iudgement concerning that conference. Neither doe I see, for mine owne part, (if the matters therein handled with the circumstances be aduisedly looked into) how he could possibly haue<sup>10</sup> bene shorter, but he must withall haue bene much darker and intricate. as to the litle effect hee speakes of, master Sutcliffe must pardon me, I will neuer<sup>11</sup> beleene, that all that euer he hath written, or can write whiles he liues, will euer worke the like effect

<sup>2</sup> To say there is no difference of the persons in the Trinitie, is Sabelianisme.

<sup>3</sup> Good for them if they had written no worse.

<sup>4</sup> The fault is in your eyes, mold-warps see not the sunne.

<sup>5</sup> Who will not be bold, dealing in so good a cause?

<sup>6</sup> M. Reinolds thinketh not so.

<sup>7</sup> I speake not one word against him, nor his booke, but of the maner of that disputation.

<sup>8</sup> His vaine words shall not alter my good opinion of M. Reinolds, nor his of me.

<sup>9</sup> As M. Throk-morton is.

<sup>10</sup> Many disputations are ended in one day.

<sup>11</sup> M. Throk hath litle iudgement in these causes.



## An answer vnto

<sup>1</sup> This supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, these men in the starre chamber would not acknowledge, & other where notoriously they oppugne.

<sup>2</sup> If I say it, I trust I make it good.

<sup>3</sup> His wisdom must beare with others folly.

<sup>4</sup> He will be sory when he seeth my answer.

<sup>5</sup> All this his discourse and the contrary opinion is farre more absurd.

<sup>6</sup> There is not much of that I sayd encountred, and better had M. Throk. done, not to encounter me in these points.

in the hearts of men for the confutation of poperie, and the confirmation of the princes true and lawfull<sup>1</sup> supremacie, as that one worke alone hath done. But alas, madame, how shall we doe now? M. Sutcliffe thinks not so, and where bee we then? for whatsoeuer hee auoucheth true or false, right or wrong, blacke or white, it is<sup>2</sup> bound streight, if you marke it, with all antiquitie, all the fathers, all diuinitie. If hee say it once, there must be no staggering at it. We must receiue it forthwith as an oracle from his mouth, be it neuer so<sup>3</sup> sottish, as your honor may plainly see by this new<sup>4</sup> characteristicall sentence of his, to wit, that the sonne was borne of the father, which is, saith hee, the characteristicall difference of that person. What can be more<sup>5</sup> absurd and senselesse then this? and yet being countenanced and guided as it is, with M. Sutcliffes colours, that is, with all religion saith it, all religion saith it, it must, you see, march on without an<sup>6</sup> encounter, or els there will be no hoe with him.

M. Sutcliffe.

All this while M. Throkemorton runneth from the bias of his owne defence, which was the argument wherein hee should haue triumphed, and shewed himselfe to haue eagles eyes, and sound iudgement, if hee had had any, and turneth aside into a vaine and impertinent discourse of certaine faultes and errours, which he would gladly lay vpon me. In this place he chargeth me with no lesse then three grosse and erroneous assertions, as he beleeueth. First, it misliketh him that I should say, that the sonne of God is borne of the father; Secondly, that I hold that the sonne should differ from the father and the holy ghost; or that the persons of the Trinitie should differ one from another. And lastly, that I should call that note of difference, the characteristicall difference, or propertie that maketh the sonne to differ from the other two persons in the Trinitie. And herein he triumpheth, & soundeth out many great words, as if he were in possession, and had already won a great victory. Here he relieueth his lady, that I thinke doth not so much care for these matters, of the inflammation of my stomacke, & heat of my affections, as if hee were a physicion able to see farre into mens waters: he crieth out of strange diuinitie, and new Sutclidian creedes, which he hath set also downe in capitall letters, as if it were a capitall offence. And albeit himselfe is but a droane  
able



able to doe nothing, but buzze; yet he imagineth, I might bee stung, if any waspe would come about me. he doubteth not, but I might be, as coniecatchers vse to say, crossebitten, and backbitten. and therefore being such a man, and lying open to so many aduantages, he saith, I should not bee so peremptorie, as I seemed with *M. Rainolds* and others, vpon whom he saith, I gaue a slight and brazen censure.

Al which his great cracks and bumbasted wordes notwithstanding, that doctrine which I deliuered, & he would so gladly controll, is so true, that if a whole nest of waspes, or a packe of hounds, or a set of coniecatchers came about me, I need to feare neither their stinging, nor their singing, nor their barking, nor their biting, nor crossebiting, nor backbiting, nor their cogging nor coniecatching. For these matters which *Throk.* obiecteth, I shall God willing so answere, as neither he nor his prompters, that put on him these armes, with which he, God wot, was altogether vnacquainted, shal haue cause to glory in their victory.

Howbeit, I could haue wished that some other that hath some name among the disciplinarians for learning, durst haue propounded these matters. beating this mud wall, what shall I do, but raise dust? he is so vncapable of these mysteries, that he shameth not to proclaime his owne shame. Herein onely shewing modestie, that he confesseth himself vnable to defend this caule against me, & after he hath made all this *bravade* maketh shew as if he would throw down his armes, & run his way. for which he shal haue this fauour, that running in this sort, I will not run after him; but leauing him, I wil come to the cause in question.

That the *sonne of God is borne of the father*, is a most true and christian assertion, grounded vpon the Scriptures, maintained in very expresse termes by the holy fathers of the church, and contained in diuers godly and Christian confessions published by sundry fathers and counsels, & neuer denied by any professing the right faith, vntil such time as this ignorant man and certaine of his puefellowes; percase because they found not the words in their consistorian creed, gainsaied it, & would needs, because I said it, controll it. and yet the deniall thereof bringeth in by good consequent, not onely *Arrianisme*, which here he denied, that the sonne was *natus de substantia patris*, that is, borne of the sub-

<sup>1</sup> That the sonne of God is properly sayd to be borne of his father.



<sup>1</sup> In latine, *filius* & *natus* be Synonyma. in Greeke, *filios* is called *τεκνον*, because he is born.

stance of the father, but also *Iudaisme*. for if the sonne bee not borne, then is he not the sonne (for <sup>1</sup> *nemo non natus, natura filius*) then are there not three persons in the Trinitie, then is our preaching in vaine, and most vaine is the hope of Christians, whose hope is in Christ the sonne of God, very God of very God, borne of the father from euerlasting.

Besides, this error is contrary to this reason, though not only reason being founded vpon the scriptures. for either must the sonne be borne, or not borne: if borne, why doth *Throk*. mislike those that say so? if not borne, then is he no sonne. for neuer was there yet a sonne, so properly called, but he was borne, *i. natiuitatem habuit*. the scriptures and fathers are plaine.

<sup>2</sup> *Pf. 109. 3.*

<sup>3</sup> *Gotfrid. Viterb. par. 1. chron. & in pf. 149.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ex utero* saith God by the prophet Dauid, *Ante luciferum genui te*. These wordes the <sup>3</sup> fathers expound of the eternall natiuitie of the Sonne of God. And the wordes in the beginning of y<sup>e</sup> Psalme, do shew that God the Father there speaketh to the Sonne. *ex utero, inquit Lyra, quia filius est de substantia patris*. And albeit the letter of the text may be taken another way, yet godly fathers do so expound it. *Vteri meminit, saith <sup>4</sup> Basil, vt exprimat generationis huius veritatem*. Like interpretation bringeth *Arnobius*. Now then if for want of conuenient words godly fathers to expresse Christes eternall natiuitie, haue said that he was begotten of the wombe of his father, who can condemne him that saith, hee is borne of the father, which soundeth not halfe so harsh?

<sup>4</sup> *In pf. 109.*

<sup>5</sup> *Is. 66. 9.*

*Lyra ibidem, & Gotfr. Viterb. chron. part. 1.*

These wordes of God, <sup>5</sup> *nunquid qui alios parere facio, ego ipse non pariam, dicit Dominus?* are likewise by ancient fathers alleaged to proue Christes eternal natiuitie. which do more strangely in shew expresse that mysterie, then the word which I vsed.

In the second psalme God saith to his sonne, *filius meus es tu, bodie genui te*. but nothing is begotten, but it must be borne, nor can a man haue a sonne, but hee must be borne. yea of the two termes *genitus* and *natus*, this latter doeth betoken more perfection. For that may be sayd of creatures in the wombe being yet vnperfect, this not. and therefore more proper to expresse this high secret, for in God no imperfection may bee implied. and albeit our termes will not attaine so high, yet must we cutting of all conceit of imperfection, come so neere as we may.

The



The wisdom of God, that is, the sonne of God, saith<sup>1</sup> of himselfe thus, *the depths were not yet, when I was conceived.* which do import, that which is conioined with Christs eternall natiuitie and birth.

<sup>2</sup> S. Iohn speaking of Christs eternitie, saith; he is of the father *παρὸς πατρὸς.* but that is onely, as we say, in latin, *nascendo*, i. by being borne. Beside these places, whatsoeuer maketh for prooffe of Christ his godhead, the same doeth prooue Christs eternall natiuitie. *Nascendo enim diuinam habuit sibi communicatam à patre essentiam*, as diuines hold.

*Pater*, saith<sup>3</sup> Iustin martyr, *Innascibiliter habet essentiam, filius nascibiliter*: that is, the father had his diuine essence of none, being born of none, y<sup>e</sup> sonne hath it, by being born of the father.

<sup>4</sup> Tertullian speaking of Christ, hath these words. *Principium natiuitatis ante omne tempus accepit.* and afterward, *ex quo hic est qui natus est, dum qui ex illo nascitur, merito ex eo venit, qui originem non habet.*

The maner of this<sup>5</sup> eternall natiuitie is not to be conceived, yet is it with reuerence to be beleued. *καὶ ἐὶς λόγος πολλοῦς ἐὶ καὶ τὰ θεῖα μεγαλόφρωνος*, saith<sup>6</sup> Nazianzen, *κατὰ αὐτὴν οὐκ αὖτε διαρίσεις καὶ τὰς τομὰς, καὶ τὸ αὖτε αὐτὸ αἰμῶντος διαρρίπτει, τῆς ἀσωμάτου φύσεως, καὶ τὰ χαρὰ ἁλίστοις τὰ διασυνδεδεμένους θεῶν ἡμῶν οὐκ, πῶς γὰρ ἡμῶν; πάλιν γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ φθίνουσα συλλαμβάνει. διὸ ἡμῶν οὐκ αὖτε τιμωρίαν.* where he speaketh of Christs eternall natiuitie, and declareth that it is not like any corporall matter.

Many like sentences are found euery where in the fathers. *Licet scire quod natus sit*, saith<sup>7</sup> Ambrose, *Non licet discutere quomodo natus sit.* and afterward in the same booke; *Nascitur Christus a patre ut splendor, quia simul splendor operatur, & nascitur.* and againe, *Cum ergo audimus ex utero filium, ex corde verbum, credemus quia non est plasmatus manibus, sed ex patre natus.*

*Generatio huius regis prima est, qua de Deo patre ineffabiliter nascitur.* the first generation of this king, saith<sup>8</sup> Hierome, is that whereby he is borne of the father after such a maner as cannot bee spoken. Out of the actes of the councill of Nice, hee citeth these words, <sup>9</sup> *Credimus in unigenitum Dei filium, qui ante omnia secula natus est ex Deo.* so that to say that Christ is borne of his father, is not my faith onely, but the faith of Christ his church, and of the fathers of the famous councill of Nice.



<sup>1</sup> Hilar. lib. 4. de  
Trinit.

<sup>2</sup> Idem lib. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Idem lib. 9. de  
Trinit.

<sup>4</sup> Disput. con.  
Arrium.

<sup>5</sup> Ebb. 2. de Trin.  
cap. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. 4. de Trin.  
c. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Aug. de fide ad  
Petr. c. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ser. 12. de tem-  
pore.

<sup>9</sup> Ad Pascenti-  
um n. 174.

<sup>10</sup> Ho. quidam  
de sp. sancto. 10. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Greg. moral.  
lib. 29. c. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Lib. 3. de fide,  
c. 54. f. 70.

<sup>13</sup> Lib. de Trin.  
6. c. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Zanch. de 3.  
elothim, lib. 4.

Melaneth. loc. com. c. de filio. Heming. Syntag. c. 1. & Musculus loc. com.

*Nihil nisi natum habet filius, id est, saith* <sup>1</sup> Hilary, *omnia habet propter natiuitatem. and againe,* <sup>2</sup> *nato Deo manifestum est proprium esse, quod filius est.* where Christes eternal birth or natiuitie of the Father is diuersly mentioned. The <sup>3</sup> same father by these wordes, *quoniam a Deo exiui, proouing Christes eternal generation, saith,* *exitio eius a Deo absoluta natiuitas est.* which argument also <sup>4</sup> *Athanasius* vseth, who very learnedly disputing against *Arrius*, proueth this principally which *Throk Morton* denieth; *Ut se de patre natum (saith he) ostenderet, ait: quod natum est ex carne, caro est, & quod natum est de spiritu spiritus est, quia Deus spiritus est. ego de Deo patre exiui. ecce filium de patre natum, ipso filio docente ostendi.*

*S. Augustine* hath infinite places tending to this purpose. *qui ergo de Deo natus est, saith he,* <sup>5</sup> *speaking of the sonne, in hoc mundo erat, qui autem de Maria natus est in hunc mundum missus aduenit.* And againe, <sup>6</sup> *natum esse est filio a patre esse.* And in another <sup>7</sup> place, *natus est enim de patre Dei verbum, natus est de matre verbum caro factum.* the fourth place is this, <sup>8</sup> *Domine Deus noster natus de patre creauit matrem, creatus de matre glorificauit patrem.* And in a certaine epistle, <sup>9</sup> *Semper gignit pater & semper nascitur filius.* but what should I cite a few, when so infinite places in *S. Augustine* testifie that the sonne is borne of the father?

*Cum audieris predicari filium, saith* <sup>10</sup> *Chrysostome, comprehendisti natiuitatis modum.*

Likewise <sup>11</sup> *Gregory* in his *Morals*, *Dominus Deus noster Iesus Christus, saith he, in ea quod virtus est, sapientia dei est, de patre ante tempora natus est. & afterward, natus igitur ex patre sine matre, nasci ex matre dignatus est in tempore.*

*Ομολογῶμεν αὐτὸν ἕνα υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c. διὰ αὐτοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς σῶντες, μίαν τιμὴν ἐν πατρὶς κοίτι.* saith <sup>12</sup> *Damascene*, where with one word he expresseth the emanation of the sonne from the father, and his second birth of the virgin Mary; of whom I suppose *Throk Morton* wil not deny Christ Iesus to haue bene borne.

*Credimus, saith* <sup>13</sup> *Richard S. Victor, & rationis attestazione consecuti sumus patrem gignere, & quod consequens est filium nasci de patre.*

The late <sup>14</sup> writers likewise vse the same termes in diuers places,



places, affirming the sonne of God, *to be borne of the father.* I re-  
ferre you onely to the places noted in the margent, because I  
would not haue this discourse to swel too great.

Let *M. Throkmorton* therefore looke to himselfe and ac-  
knowledge his owne foule errour, and expostulate with his  
yong disciplinarian *Rabbines*, that taught him this new diui-  
nitie, and made him to deny the sonne to be borne of the fa-  
ther. why he should accuse me for broching strange and new  
found diuinitie, there is no cause: neither that he should repre-  
hend mee for saying, *all Religion.* for it is a doctrine alwayes  
taught in the Church, and deliuered by the fathers of our Chri-  
stian Religion. which who so denieth vnder pretence of refor-  
mation, seeketh nothing, but to abolish Christes eternall nati-  
uitie, which is the ground of Religion. But if hee will seeke for  
strange and newe diuinitie, let him goe to his friend *Fenners*  
booke, that hath the approbation of *Tho. Cartwr.* which is a  
booke not onely of new and strange, but also of absurd and im-  
pious doctrine. so absurd that it lieth without defence, so strange  
that the like was neuer heard of before. a booke of new diui-  
nitie wel fitting *Th. Cartwr.* new Consistory; an absurd piece of  
diuinitie, and an absurd Consistory.

And albeit he may perceiue, that the doctrine which I deli-  
uered is not new, by that which hath bene said already; yet hee  
shall also vnderstand, that the same wordes are placed in diuers  
creedes, least hencefoorth hee cry out againe of new creedes,  
shewing himselfe in deede to be ignorant of his creede.

The *Nicene* creede hath these wordes which I haue already  
alleged out of *Hierome*: *& in unum Dominum nostrum Iesum*  
*Christum filium Dei unigenitum ex patre natum ante omnia secula.*  
wherein albeit our Church hath turned, *begotten of the father,*  
yet the English is, *borne of the father.* and so it must bee turned,  
vnlesse we will make the wordes *unigenitum* and *natum esse*, all  
one, & haue the word *begotten* to be redoubled twise in so short  
a confession. That was also the faith of the Greeke Church in  
*Justinians* time.

The fathers assembled in the sixt<sup>h</sup> Councel at *Constantinople*  
in the confession of their faith haue these words: *qui sempiternè*  
*natus est ex ipso Deo.*

*Filium sine  
tempore ex patre  
natum esse docet  
in edicto. Iustini-  
an. cod. de sum.  
tri. et. fid. ca. l.*

*cum recta.  
2 Cons. Constans-  
tinop. 6.*



Conc. Tolet. 6.

In the confession published in the <sup>1</sup> sixt Council at Toledo we finde these wordes; *Natus à Deo sine matre, natus à virgine sine patre*: that is, borne of God without mother, borne of a Virgine without father.

Conc. Tolet. 11.

The eleuenth Council of Toledo goeth yet further and <sup>2</sup>saith, *Nec nasci capit aliquando, nec desyt, nec de nihilo, sed de patris utero, &c. Filius genitus vel natus esse credendus est.* And <sup>3</sup> againe, *Filium quoque de substantia Patris sine initio ante secula natum, nec tamen factum esse fatemur.*

Ibidem.

Tell therefore, I pray you, this ignorant Sectary, that if he deny that the Sonne of God is borne of the Father, hee erreth, and maintaineth an impious opinion cōtrary to Scriptures, and condemned in expresse termes by the fathers, and repugnant to the faith we haue receiued from the Apostles, as appeareth by diuers Councils, and fathers.

But percase hee will say, *That the wordes Nasci and Natus in latine doe not answere our English wordes, To bee borne, and borne.* And yet neither hee nor any can expound the wordes otherwise. Let him attempt it, and experience will teache him, it is so. Neither is the phrase, *Borne of God*, so strange in our language. In the first of Iohn wee reade, *Which are borne not of blood, &c. but of God.* And in the thirde of Iohn, *That which is borne of the spirit is spirit.* And in the thirde Chapter of S. Iohns first Epistle, *Whosoever is borne of God, sinneth not.* In Dutch from whence our English first flowed, *Gheboren*, is attributed to the Sonne of God. But this carnall, and brutish man cannot conceiue of this mysterie by wordes that are vsed to expresse the same, but carnally, grossely, and absurdly.

If hee reply as hee doeth, *That the fathers say, that the Sonne is begotten of the Father*, I confesse it to bee true. But againe, I say, that they doe not deny, nor any Christian learned euer denied, that the Sonne was borne of the Father. Nor can it be concluded that hee is not borne, because hee is begotten. The trueth is, that the Sonne is both *Genitus*, and *Natus*, (both which the Greekes expresse by this worde γεννητος) and that they vse both words indifferently: which ouerthroweth *Throckmortons* reason against me.

And yet to speake properly, neither of these termes reacheth  
to



to the depth of this mystrie of the Trinitie, if we take them so in diuine matters, as we vnderstand them in worldly things.

*πάντας διαβολάς ἀδιαρίτους ὅτι τὸ ὑπὲρ διαύσιας ὄν, ἀρρητὸν τοῦ λόγου πάντε τοῦ ὑπὲρ λόγου ἀγασ-  
σον,* sayeth <sup>1</sup> *Dionysius*. Who can expresse that diuine mystrie,

<sup>1</sup> *De diuinis no-  
minib. in princip.*

that neither with vnderstanding can be comprehended, nor with wordes vttered? *Sacra & diuinae natiuitatis arcana,* (saith

<sup>2</sup> *Tertullian*, if that be his booke which is in his works) *nec Apostolus didicit, nec Prophetia comperit, nec Angelus sciuit, nec creatura cognouit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Tertul. de Tri-  
nit. Paulo ante  
finem.*

Saint <sup>3</sup> *Anstin* saith, that mens sight in these matters is weake, and that this high and deepe mystrie with wordes conuenient is not to be vttered. <sup>4</sup> *Nazianzen* saith, that for want of better and more proper

<sup>3</sup> *De Trinit.  
lib. 1. c. 2.*

termes, we are constraigned to vse wordes that are more proper to hu- mane matters, then diuine mysteries.

<sup>4</sup> *Nazianzen.  
ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγίον  
πνεῦματος.*

*ὅς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς, ὁ ἀσυνδάντων ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀποστασίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἡ ὁμοούσιον, ἡ δὴ ἡ πείσας  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδελφὸς ἡμῶν ἔξ τῶν κατὰ κλίσεις καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας συζητήσεως μεταφέρειν ὅτι τὸ θεῖον.*

Hee sayeth, that for want of others, we are necessarily driuen to vse wordes translated from humane matters. The which is verified in these woordes, *Begotten*, and *Borne*, applyed to Christes eternal emanation from his Father. For if, as in worldly things, wee doe imagine, that hee was borne or begotten; wee erre greatly. This was the cause of this ignorant mans error. He could not conceiue that any should be borne without a mother. neither can he vnderstand well how any should be begotten, and yet haue no mother, if he conceiue of these matters carnally. Let him therefore reade, and learne, and be content to heare, and leaue his carnall and grosse conceits. Let him also be ashamed presumptuously to talke of matters which he vnderstandeth not, and to reprehend others, himselfe being in the wrong.

These two termes *Genitus* and *Natus*, being indifferently v- sed of antiquitie, and the word *Natiuitie* belonging as well to Christes eternall emanation from the Father, as to his birth of the Virgine *Mary*, who can deny the Sonne of God to be borne of his Father, vnlesse hee will also deny him to be borne of his mother? And who can iustly reprocue me for saying, *That the Sonne is borne of the Father*? Nay speaking of that propertie which maketh the Sonne to differ from the person of

of



of the Father, it was more proper to say *nasci*, or *to be borne*, then *genitus esse*, or *to be begotten*. for that doeth signifie the difference with respect of the Sonne to the Father, this doeth signifie the same with respect of the Father to the Sonne, and that passiuely after our vnderstanding, which in this diuine mysterie is not so conuenient. These subtilties, I feare, will not entre into *Throkmortons* head; but yet I might not folow any other course, because I would haue the learned fully satisfied.

\* Of the difference of the persons in the Trinitie denied by *Trok Morton*.

<sup>1</sup> That the persons in the most holy Trinitie doe differ one from another, and that I said well, *that the Sonne being borne of his father before all worldes, did by that character or proper note differ from the Father*, that is borne or begotten of none, and therefore called *innascibilis*, and from the holy Ghost, that is not called the Sonne, nor said to bee begotten or borne, is also most Christian doctrine, and as plainly to be prooued, as that other assertion concerning Christes eternall natiuitie. In so much as I doe maruaile that either *Throk Morton*, or any of his teachers would either maintaine the contrary, or reprooue me holding so firme a ground of faith, for to maintaine that the persons differ nothing is plaine *Sabellianisme*. for *Sabellius* held, *that the persons of the Trinitie did not differ one frō another*: which are the very wordes of *M. Throk Morton*.

\* *Matth. 28.*

\* *De Trinit.*

The <sup>2</sup> Scriptures teach vs, that the persons of the Trinitie are three, and that is the ground of our faith. but if there be no difference, then is there no pluralitie of persons. *Vbi differentia abest*, saith <sup>3</sup> *Boethius*, *abest pluralitas*. and how can we say one, two, three, when the second doeth not differ from the first; nor contrarywise, nor the thirde from the first and second, nor the first and second from the thirde?

Secondly we read, that the three persons in the Trinitie haue their proper notions, by which they are distinguished, and differ eche from other. but how can they be distinguished and differ, where there is no difference? For that which differeth in nothing is the same thing, and the nature of a difference, is to distinguish and separate things diuers.

\* *Isagog. porphy. c. de differentia.*

\* *Now if a man may differ from himselfe; it were strange, if diuers persons should differ nothing, and more strange (as this simple*



simple diuine holdeth,) that the same persons in one respect should be distinct, and yet not differ.

Besides this, reason teacheth vs, that *relatives* doe differ: for where there is no difference, there can be no relation. but that the persons of the Trinitie haue mutual relations eche to other, it cannot bee denied, and if it should, all<sup>1</sup> antiquitie is against such denial.

<sup>1</sup> Nazianz. de filio. Augustin de Trinit. lib. 7. & Damasc. lib. 3. de fid.

Neither doeth Throkmorton deny, but that the persons are distinct. but how are they distinct, if there be no difference? for distinction is in the vnderstanding, and hath his obiect in the difference of things. take away then all difference, you take away the distinction of persons in the Trinitie.

The holy fathers of the Primitiue Church in plaine termes held, that the persons of the Trinitie differed one from another, whereupon as *Naxianzene* saith, proceeded the difference of their relations and names. τὸ ὅτι ἑκαστος, <sup>2</sup> saith he, ἰς ἑτὸς εἶπω, ἢ τὸ <sup>2</sup> Nazianz. lib. de sanct. Spiritu. *the difference of their manifestation (if I may so call it) or of their mutuall relations hath giuen them diuers names.*

Εἰς γὰρ, saith he<sup>3</sup> further, τὰς ἰδιότητας μεῖναι πατέρι καὶ υἱῷ, ἵνα μὴ σύγχυσις ἢ παρεῖ τῇ θεότητι, τῇ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ εἰς ταῖς ἀγάπῃ καὶ δόξῃ. Now where can there be order without difference; or how can confusion be auoyded, where is no difference? can that be proper to any, that maketh him not to differre?

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

*Non satis est, saith<sup>4</sup> Basil, Personarum numerare differentias, sed fatendum est unamquamque personam in vera esse ac certa subsistentia.*

<sup>4</sup> In Epist. 64. ad Neocesar.

And<sup>5</sup> againe, *Ita vt per dicta iam indicia separatio & differentia personarum inueniatur.* and least any man might thinke, that the difference of persons did worke a diuision in the substance of the Deitie, he<sup>6</sup> saith, *Neque per differentiam ἡ ἑνότης ἀναιρεῖται, & inuentione naturae dissipatur.* And afterward, *ita putat conuenire Apostolus, etiamsi inconfusa fides doctrina separatam doceat personarum differentiam.* The argument of that whole Epistle is to prooue the differences of the persons.

<sup>5</sup> Epist. 43. ad Gregor. fratrem.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

*Sabellius, sayeth<sup>7</sup> S. Hierom, non intelligens Patrem, confundit & Filium, dum eandem operationem non putet diuersorum.* Hierom therefore confesseth a diuersitie, which is more then a difference

<sup>7</sup> Lib. 2. comment in c. 4. ad Ephes.



## An answer vnto

in the persons: and in another place, a discrepance.

*Quæ quidem,* <sup>1</sup>saith he, *cùm vocabulis personisque dissentiant, substantia naturæque sociata sunt.*

Likewise doeth Saint <sup>2</sup>Augustine. *diuersum est, saith he, Patrem esse, & Filium esse.*

<sup>3</sup>Chrysostome vpon Iohn doeth likewise confirme this doctrine, *In nullo prorsus differunt, sayeth he, præterquam quòd alter Pater est, alter Filius. Verba hanc tantum facere videntur differentiam.*

<sup>4</sup> Damasc. lib. 3. de rect. fide.

*τὸν δὲ διαπορεῖν τὸ ὁμοῦς εἶναι, saith <sup>4</sup>Damascene, ἐν μόνῳ τοῦ τριῦς ἰδιότητος, τῇ αἰτιότητι καὶ πατρικίᾳ; καὶ αἰτιότητι καὶ υἱικίᾳ, καὶ αἰτιότητι καὶ ἐκπορεύσει ὁμογενήσας μορφῇ.*

<sup>5</sup> Ric. de s. vi. lib. 4. de Trin. c. 13.

*Pluribus personis est unum & idem indifferens esse, (saith <sup>5</sup>Richard S. Victor, inueniuntur tamen ad inuicem differentiam habere.*

<sup>6</sup> Ibidem c. 15.

*And <sup>6</sup>again, Pluralitas personarum conuincit, quòd in illa Trinitate discretina proprietates, proprietatumque differentia deesse non possit.*

<sup>7</sup> Dana. in lomb. lib. 1. dist. 24. in censur.

With antiquitie, later diuines doe in this point also consent. *Personæ diuinæ, saith <sup>7</sup>Danaus, duæ, tres, & multæ, & differentes, & distinctæ, & diuersæ dici à nobis orthodoxè possunt.*

<sup>8</sup> Lib. 1. de trib. elohim. c. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Zanchius teacheth, that the persons are really distinguished, so that the Father is another person then the Sonne, and holy Ghost, and the Sonne another then the Father, and the holy Ghost, and the holy Ghost then the Father & the Sonne; which vnlesse they differ one from another, can not be conceiued.

<sup>9</sup> Loc. com. c. de tribus personis.

*Tres personæ illustri discrimine monstrantur, saith <sup>9</sup>Melancthon.*

<sup>10</sup> Lib. de script. & eccles. author.

<sup>10</sup>Bullinger doeth put a farre larger difference betweene the persons of the Trinitie.

<sup>11</sup> Lib. de Deo. c. qualis sit Deus hypostasi.

*Musculus* in his common <sup>11</sup>places doeth make them also different.

<sup>12</sup> Distinct. 24. lib. 1. § 8.

Neither doe the Scholemen or any that cary the names of diuines, in this point dissent from vs. *Cùmque addimus <sup>12</sup>(saith Lombard) distinctæ sunt personæ proprietatibus, siue differentes proprietatibus, aliam esse hanc personam, & aliam illam suis proprietatibus significamus.*

<sup>13</sup> In dist. 26. lib. 1. sent. quæst. 2.

*Merito queritur, (<sup>13</sup>saith Dionysius the Carthusian,) qualis sit differentia inter Patrem & Filium, quorum est in essentia unitas. Quod si quis dixerit quòd differunt relatione, rectè responderet.*

<sup>14</sup> Annib. Ros. in Trismegist. lib. 1. com. 7. q. 4. c. 1.

That the Sonne cannot be called the Father, the reason is as <sup>14</sup>Annibal Roseli holdeth, *propter differentiam personarum.*

Reason



Reason doeth also shew this assertion to be most true. For if the persons of the Trinitie be distinct by opposit relations, then must they needes differ. For to be opposit, is more then a common difference, and *relatives* doe differ one from another *velut opposita*, as Logicke teacheth, of which albeit *M. Throkmorton* euery where crossebite me, yet he hath bitten but a litle.

Beside this, properties naturally doe make persons to differ ech from other, and proper and common be termes opposit. If then there be no difference betwixt the persons of the Trinitie, then are there no notions, nor properties belonging to them, whereby they may be distinguished: which is contrary to our Christian faith.

Finally, *Sabellius* was condemned by the Church of God for holding, that *there was but one person, as there is one essence or nature in the Godhead*. Which absurditie doeth follow of this barbarous position of *Throkmorton* denying the difference of the persons. for if the three persons differ not, then is there but one person in the Godhead as *Sabellius*, *Noetus*, and *Praxeas* held.

<sup>1</sup> *Peter Lombard* was forsaken of his followers, where he holdeth, that wordes of number, doe put no diuersitie betwixt the persons of the Trinitie. But *Throkmorton* by his lewd teachers is thrust further forward. for neither by wordes of number, nor by other termes doeth he beleue that any difference at al is put betwixt the persons of the Trinitie, and like a graue Churchalderman sufficient to make a pillar in a Consistory, condemneth this assertion, that the Sonne doeth differ from the Father. Which course if his consorts doe holde a while, we are to seeke for a new Religion, and a new Creed.

In their new Communion booke they tooke out certaine articles out of the Apostles Creed, and a certaine petition out of the Lords prayer: and this new vpstart diuine with *Sabellius*, would ouerthrow the difference of persons. What hencefoorth they will teach God knoweth: more pernicious doctrine they cannot teach.

If he say, *there is a distinction betwixt the persons, but no difference*; he speaketh most absurdly. For if there be a distinction, it must be by reason of some relation or difference. take this away, you remooue all distinction. How the fathers and other



learned men teach otherwise in this point, then doe the doctors of discipline I haue shewed. Now that hee may vnderstand that hee and not I, hath brought in a new kinde of faith, I will shew that diuers godly fathers in the confessions of faith which they published, haue receiued that word which this ignorant and talkatiue man reiecteth; and refelled that doctrine, which he would establish.

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Tolet. 4.

*In personarum diuersitate*, say the <sup>1</sup> fathers assembled in a Councill at Toledo, *Trinitatem credentes, in diuinitate unitatem predicantes, nec personas confundimus, nec substantiam separamus.*

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Constantinop. 6.

In the sixt councill assembled at <sup>2</sup> Constantinople, these words were inserted in the confession of their faith, *Omnis numerus contubernalem habet differentiam, atque omnis differentia atque discretio numerum superinducit ut insitum.* By which wordes may easily appeare, that they that deny any difference to be betwixt the persons in the Trinitie, doe establish the heresie of Sabellius, & teach vs new faith. therefore saith the same very <sup>3</sup> councill, *Trinitatem tribus inconfusis subsistentiis, & diuersitatem numeranda personalis alteritatis sapere sancitum est.*

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> The same also is most euident by the extravagant strangenesse of Fenners diuinitie, which M. Cartwr. so highly magnifieth, and by the new Creedes they set foorth in their new bookes.

Iudge then I pray you, <sup>4</sup> what profound Diuines Throkorton and his teachers are, that for a burning desire, and malice to reprehend others, ouerthrow the foundation of Religion. In the meane while I doubt not but you see, that I had great reason to say, *That all Religion, holding the groundes of Christian faith, holdeth also, that the Sonne of God is borne of his father, and that by that notion or difference he is distinguished from him.*

<sup>5</sup> That the word *characteristicall*, is very proper as it was vsed by me, and not new.

Nowe come wee to that thirde obiection, which Master Throkorton casteth out, as it were, a blocke in my way. but if his head had not in these matters bene very dull, and as it were blockish, he would haue remooued out of euery mans sight. He findeth fault with the word <sup>5</sup> *Characteristicall*, and sayeth, *it is a new phrase and very fine, but hee can neither see diuinitie, nor sense in it.* Which in deede is true. for in these matters hee is blinde, and seeth nothing, and walketh as a man groping in the darke. but others doe see that the worde is very fitte for that place, and very significatiue, though hee proclayming his ignorance saw it not. The Sonne of God is <sup>6</sup> said

<sup>6</sup> Hebr. i.



to be *χαρκτηρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πατρὸς*, that is, such a person, as albeit different and distinct from the father, yet hath the same nature, and declareth to men after a sort the diuine essence and glory. for the word doeth not onely import a similitude, or rather vni- tie in one respect, but also a difference in another. Hereupon it commeth to passe, that diuines do call those notions or termes which doe distinguish the persons in the Trinitie, *proprietaes characteristics*. yet were not they the men that first found out the word. *Nazianzen & Damascene*, vsed the same long agoe, *ἐν ταύταις μόναις τῆς ὑποστάσεως ιδιότησι*, 'saith he, *διαφέρουσι δηλοῦν αἱ ἀγία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, ἐκ ἑσῆς τοῦ ὅ χαρκτηριστικῆς τῆς ἰδίας ὑποστάσεως, ἀδιαίρετως διαμεμβράει*. In which words *Damas.* hath not only y which I sayd concerning the characteristick all difference of the persons, but much more.

<sup>1</sup> *Damascene lib. 1. de orthed. fid.*

*Daneus* commenting vpon the master of<sup>2</sup> Sentences doth vse that word, and so doe diuers learned men beside him. Let mee therefore entreat this gentle dunce to lay down his schoole weapons, wherein he hath no skill, and to meddle with his dogs, horses, and husbandry, if any he vse. these termes of diuinitie fit not his mouth.

<sup>2</sup> *In dist. 25. li. 1.*

I am also giuen to vnderstand, that some find fault where the Greekes haue *χαρκτηριστικὸν ἰδιώμα*, that I haue turned *characteristick difference*, and not rather propertie; but all commeth to one. for properties in respect of the *species*, are conuertible and the same; but they make their *species* or kindes, differ from all other things. Likewise, <sup>3</sup> *Differentia sunt speciei constitutinae, & cum ea ut plurimum conuertuntur*, whereas they make them differ and distinct from other things. And therefore speaking of the difference betwixt the sonne & the father, I thinke I could not more properly turne *Idioma persona filij*, then terming it y proper difference whereby he is distinguished from the father. <sup>4</sup> *Basil* writing to them of *Neocæsarea*, confoundeth *proprium* and *discreti- num* twise. and Logicians for want of true differences take properties. The Schoolemen in this argument doe indifferently vse proper notions and differences.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the differences with the general word do import that which is speciall.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist. 64*

But may some say (for *M. T. brok.* is not so much as a nouice in diuinitie, and can say but litle) these termes of diuision, diuersitie and difference may by no meanes bee used, when we talke of the diuine essence and nature, which is most simple, and without al diuision,



In trueth the  
absurditie was in  
his braine, that  
wunterh com-  
mon sense.

or difference. I doe confesse it is so, and therefore to auoid all ca-  
uils, knowing with what wranglers I had to deale, I did expresse  
and in plaine termes shew, *that this difference was not in the di-  
uine nature, but betweene the persons.* which notwithstanding this  
bold man presumptuously condemneth, as most<sup>1</sup> absurd and  
senselesse. but who so bold as he that seeth no danger, and who  
so senselesse as he that feeleth and seeth nought, and who more  
absurd then the absurd consistorsians that controll all, and yet  
haue no graine of diuinitie nor good learning?

Thus you see *Throk.* three obiections easily answered, but that  
which is obiected against *Fenners* holy diuinitie, & the new re-  
formed communion booke; in defence whereof, somewhat  
should haue bene sayd, and would no doubt, if the matter had  
not bene too plaine and euident, standeth condemned without  
answere, defence or colour. which silence if *Throk.* would haue  
imitated, others would haue thought him more wise, I would  
haue esteemed him better learned, all men would haue deemed  
him more modest and charitable, but seeing he will not be per-  
swaded, let vs heare the rest of his odious tale.

He saith, *that among the writers of our age, there is none so bold,  
peremptorie, and resolute, as my selfe.* And why? forsooth, saith  
hee, *because I giue a slight and brazen censure vpon M. Reynolds,  
one of the woorthiest and most accomplished diuines of our age.* but  
what an enemie saith whose tongue swelleth with poison, and  
heart almost bursteth with malice, it greatly skilleth not. I trust  
no man can iustly note mee of want of ductie, or disloialtie to-  
wards my superiours. Good it were *M. Throk.* stood herein so  
cleare, and with ignorant companions, that by all meanes went  
about to trouble the state, I trust no man will blame me, if I delt  
peremptorily, and for defence of trueth, of which I stood assu-  
red, boldly. In deed I confesse diuers learned men were vnwil-  
ling to encounter such great giants, as the patrons of discipline  
make theselues; & in times past some feared the, albeit the rea-  
son was rather for their spitefull railing, then their good reason-  
ing. But yet if I feared not that which others feared, because  
I saw no cause to feare; I hope none will therein reprehend my  
boldnesse. It is boldnesse to raile against the state, to impugne  
lawes, seditiously to seeke a new gouernment, to practise with  
traitors,



traitors, such as *Hacket* and *Copinger*, bold and peremptorie fellows in deed: and therefore *M. Throkmorton* is very bold, yea, and was ouer-bold therein, and too too peremptorie. To his boldnesse, he hath also added malice. for if he had might to his desire, hee would grinde, breake, and teare in pieces all his aduersaries.

He doeth charge me with resolution also. but I take that to be no fault. he that dealeth not resolutely in a good cause, is not woorthy to defend a good cause, nor woorthy any commendation for his defence. Suppose then that I were resolute, it is farre better to be resolute, then as *M. Throk*, is, dissolute. especially, the cause which I defend, hauing better ground on the word of God, then theirs, and no doubt being maintained by all anti-quitie, and the lawes of the church and state.

That<sup>1</sup> which he saith of my censure of master *Reinolds*, and which is the ground-worke of all his accusation, is most vnttrue. I doe not censure master *Reinolds*, nor any of his labours; I honour him rather for the great paines he hath taken in teaching and writing. neither doe I thinke that hee wanteth any thing more then resolution. he were excellent, but that he feareth to declare himselfe. The wordes I vsed, concerned not his conference, nor booke, but onely the course and maner of open or priuate disputing with papists and other enemies of the present state. The disciplinarians trusting more to their learning then cause was, and desirous that they might be heard publikely dispute, and argue their cause, to make their petition seeme reasonable, alleaged that master *Reinolds* was permitted to dispute with *Hart*. To this I answered first, *that I thought it not reasonable that any that professed enmitie to the present gouernement, should bee heard publikely to argue against lawes, gouernours, and what els they misliked.* To this end I alleaged; first,<sup>2</sup> an imperiall constitution; next, the practise of all times, and of the aduersaries that suffer no such thing; and lastly, that that course would be long, and without effect, which I verified by master *Reinolds* his conference with *Hart*: and that very truly. for hee was driven to follow his aduersarie, and to attend his pleasure a long time. and when hee had all done, and spent much time and labour: yet was *Hart* confirmed, rather then otherwise, for that hee thought

<sup>1</sup> Throkmortons vntueth concerning my censuring of M. Reinolds.

<sup>2</sup> To: de sum. tri. & fid. cath. l. nemo.



*An answer vnto*

thought himselfe able to resist, albeit taken vpon the disadvantage. Nowe would I gladly know of this brazen faced fellow that chargeth me with giuing of brazen censures, and vttereth such manifest vntueths; what he can note therein not spoken both reasonably and reuerently. If he thinke, I say, that his doings were without effect in generall, he doth me wrong. I spake it in respect of *Hart*, and so I thinke also of y<sup>e</sup> disciplinarian sect. for albeit they were refuted publikely, yet our disputatiō would be without effect. for I thinke such disputes not fit to winne them. If I had done *M. Reynolds* any wrong, he is a man sufficient to plead his owne cause, and needeth no such aduocates as *M. Throkemorton* is, being a mā more like to marre a good cause, then defend a bad. I thinke also, hee will be ashamed to heare this mans glauering and flattering, that commendeth that conference for a piece of worke vnmatchable. for I doubt not but *M. Reynolds* is now able to doe farre better. I doubt not therefore, but *M. Reynolds* being of such good iudgement, will value *Throkemortons* exorbitant praises, as I doe his dispraises, euen at a lowe rate, as proceeding from a man of great partialitie, but of no iudgement in those matters.

In the ende he gibeth at mee, and turning to his lady, saieth, *alas madame how shall we doe?* *M. Sutcliffe* thinketh not so. & where be we then? as if it were not materiall what I said. and yet I haue said that which neither hee, nor his consortes, albeit their hote zeale maketh them able to bite of iron, can digest. which I doe not ascribe to any skill in my selfe, (I know it is but simple, and I am not yet so old as to see much) but to the cause I defend, & the efficacie of trueth, which hath those grounds of scriptures, fathers, antiquitie, that if *Throk* blew as big as *Æolus*, hee could not shake one of them. And nowe I see the case of the factious disciplinarian so desperate, that he may well say, *alas madame*; and she may say to him, *alas M. Throk*. and both may say *alas* good church-aldermen our deare friends. Where be those golden tongues that were woont to depaint your glory, and to set out the praises of the consistorie? and where be those liues, that one said once hee would venture, if they were as many as his haire, for the elderships cause. and to make vp the lamentation more rufull, let *M. Giles Wigg*. that famous *arcbontant* of discipline



pline say, alas, O thrise desired discipline, how is thy glorious face denigrated, and then let the all say, alas, where is our great hope become, and how suddenly is our glory turned to confusion?

As for me, let him not pitie me; I doe not looke for, nor desire any fauour at any of their hands. if I haue said vntueth, let him shew it, and not spare. and then shall he see, that the cause I defend hath in deed scriptures, fathers, counsels, reason, & law for it. whereas he poore snake can say nothing for his consistorie, nor doe neither, vnlesse he barke and raile, bite & crossebite, and like a counterfeit scoggin, make a iest of God and religion, as hee did in the infamous libels published vnder the name of *Martin*.

Throkmorton.

*And yet for his owne sake I would this were the worst thing in him, then should neuer I trowe, so many <sup>1</sup> innocent and guiltlesse haue bene thus vily, and iniuriously <sup>2</sup> be besprinkled with the gall and vinegar of his pen, as haue bene of late to the triumph and reioycing of the aduersarie, and to the grieve of those that loue the trueth. And surely madame, when I lay before me this deadly sting, and <sup>3</sup> bloody minded drift of M. Sutcliffe (for I can call it no better) in that hee would so faine haue M. <sup>4</sup> Cartwr. and M. Egerton, with so many worthie men, to be traitors and conspirators with Hacket, and M. Vdall (for the pure loue he beares him) honored with the gibbet, I could, me thinks, in their regard (if I had any acquaintance with him) <sup>5</sup> befriend him a litle with my poore aduise, if I thought hee would take it well at my hands, to wit, that seeing the reuenger of the <sup>6</sup> innocent and afflicted is mightie, and able as he knowes, to grinde their oppressers and backbiters into powder, he would (for all his <sup>7</sup> huffing and distemperature) at length yet bethinke himselfe, and beware how he goes on any further in his <sup>8</sup> vnchristianlike veine of biting and bitterness, especially against such men whom their greatest aduersaries (if they haue not quite abandoned all modesty and shamefastnes) do yet sometimes <sup>9</sup> reuerently accompt of, as may appeare by the late <sup>10</sup> politike treatise of M. Hookers, who (though hee bee much distasted with the discipline, and for any thing I see, as strongly <sup>11</sup> bewitched, and euery way as deeply interessed in the cause of the <sup>12</sup> Hierarchie, as M. Sutcliffe) doeth yet in wordes at least, and I hope from his heart, vouch-*

<sup>1</sup> Are they innocent that set vp new and fond religion, and gouernment, & deny the princes supremacy, & opugne the state?

<sup>2</sup> Redundat: take him therefore away.

<sup>3</sup> Their drift was bloodie, that by force sought to bring in the discipline.

<sup>4</sup> Where be my words? I onely aske a question, and is that so bloody a matter?

<sup>5</sup> Auant, auant.

<sup>6</sup> His consorts whom I deale with, are not so.

<sup>7</sup> Will he not cease railing?

<sup>8</sup> Shew it, or leaue these odious words.

<sup>9</sup> It is then without desert.

<sup>10</sup> There is in it more diuinitie & learning, then in all Cartw. brown paper bookes.

<sup>11</sup> Lets haue good words.

<sup>12</sup> A good word foolishly abused in euil part.

N

safe



<sup>1</sup> They are indebted to him for them, nothing deservuig them.

<sup>2</sup> I charge them onely with their owne words and doings.

<sup>3</sup> What a trifeler haue we here?

<sup>4</sup> M. Throkmoreton would make a good crier of sauce-verd, talking so properly of verdure.

<sup>5</sup> Fond conceits.

<sup>6</sup> A way rather to make them speake, for who being innocent, would not cleare himselfe of suspicion, if he could?

<sup>7</sup> This will not serue your turne to excuse their silence.

<sup>8</sup> Why doe they not cleare themselves, if they can?

<sup>9</sup> I am rather content they should be acquitted, then hurt. but they must acknowledge it done of fauour.

<sup>10</sup> *Aufer ridiculorum.* he that cannot breath, cannot pipe, and for the confistorie, they may now go pipe.

safe to honour them and be-lesse them with many reuerent & brotherly termes, as right well affected, & most religiously inclined mindes, and such like. and yet me thinkes they should not be very well affected, neither if they should bee as M. Sutcliffe would<sup>2</sup> haue them, that is, guiltie of any practise or cōspiracie against her maiestie. wherupon if I might, I would gladly know for my learning, what point of<sup>3</sup> Cosmography M. Sutcliffe holds this to bee, namely to presse men so egerly (as he doeth) to the defence of the cause, asking them whether they be quite spent, & hauing nothing to say, must be faine (poore mē) to send ouer to Geneva for helpe, & in the meane season by the<sup>4</sup> verdure and venom of his pen to draw, as it were, a kind of enditement of treason and conspiracie against them, & so to<sup>5</sup> put them to the iumpe and defence of their lines. A good<sup>6</sup> round readie way to silence & refute men, I trowe, as if it were wisdom or godly pollicie for a state to suffer traitors and conspirators, either to<sup>7</sup> write bookes or defend any thing by disputation: yet me thinkes, it were much fairer play, and an euener course a great deale, to<sup>8</sup> cleare them of treason first, and then to tender them the challenge and disputation afterwards, then thus to throw out the gantlet & chartel of defiance with one hand, & to shake the halter and shewe the hatchet with the other, or rather in plaine termes to do what in<sup>9</sup> him lieth to cut in sunder their<sup>10</sup> windpipe first, & then to aske them, why they whoppe not, or lure not afterward.

M. Sutcliffe.

Very kindly M. Throk. seemeth to wish me, I know not what, good. but his wishes be so peppred with malice & slander, that I thinke he meaneth me no good, nor deserueth so much thank, as amoūteth to one graine of pepper. He saith, that I haue sprinkled many innocents & guiltlesse, & that most vily & iniuriously, with the gall & vineger of my pen. which is a very vile, absurd, and sottish kinde of writing, and no good kind of dealing, seeming to wish friendly, & to speake so spitefully. so many innocents, saith he, should not haue bene so vily besprinkled with the gall of his pen, as haue bene. What? nay there a stop. he must therefore bee here put in mind that he oweth vs a word, vnlesse he meane to vnderstand be-sprinkled, that cannot well bee. but for this fault I will spare him. for he hath already bestowed on mee many wordes more then I looked for, or desired, which, but y I hope to be better acquainted with the gentlemā, I could scarce take in bon grē.

Now I would onely know of him, why he should thinke my pen



pen to be dipped either in vinegar or in gall. such as he is, are stil dipping in vinegar, & write like those, that draw all their inuention out of a hogshed of claret wine; wherupon it hapneth that often they make their readers drinke of the lees. *T.C.* also as his writing is full of gals, so his pen is ful of gall. as for my pen, I can not iudge of it. for euery man is least able to iudge of his owne doings; nor I thinke can *M.Throk.* being blinded with malice, and led hither & thither with ignorance. it was the best I had, and my inke of such temper, as learned men doe not much dislike. but if either my pen want fashion, or my inke good temper, so soone as I can vnderstand where the fault is, it shall be amended. How worthy, or rather wordy men, *M.Cart.* and *M.Eger.* are, is not now in question. If any learning they haue, they haue wholly emploied it to hurt and hinder those, who bent all their force against the common enemy, and so they now continue. by their meanes, while like perfidious companions they assaile vs behind our troupes, the common enemy that is in front, resisteth the better. both the common enemy & they, hold iointly diuers positions, & haue one end to discredite y<sup>e</sup> present gouernment of the church. for this cause the enemy triumpheth and braggeth, & they are the cause of this triumph, & not I. It is not *M.Cart.* or *M.Eg.* that they feare or respect, no nor any of that faction, being very weake & most vnfit to deale against the papist, being not the best learned, & giuing such aduantage in diuers positions, and especially their ridiculous legends & fables of their consistory. neither doe the papists triumph to see their faults laid open, for they do not value them: but they are glad to see our dissentions which certaine idle disciplin dreamers begā, & *T.Cart.* & *M.Eg.* to the vttermost of their skil maintained.

But whatsoeuer the merite of these men is, & whatsoeuer the aduersary thinketh of them, vntrue it is y<sup>e</sup> I be-sprinkled them or any of their felowes with gall & vinegar. my stile is for the most part soft, & very tolerable in cōparison of *T.C.* & his folowers, & if tart, yet as rubarbe that is bitter, is fit to purge choler; so was the acrimonie of my stile fit to abate the pride of these worthles felowes. if at any time it seemed sharp, it was to season the harsh and vsauerie humor of the disciplinarian cause.

Likewise most vntrue it is, that he saieth, *that I haue iniuried many innocent, and guiltlesse persons.* He nameth none, but *M.*



*An answer vnto*

*Cartw. M. Eger.* and *M. Vdall.* hee would percase haue named himselfe, but that his owne conscience hath tried him, & found him guiltie, and that the often change of his name, and hiding of his head, did bewray his guiltinesse. yet might he haue done it as well, as to name *M. Vdall*, who by sentence of the iudge was condemned, and by verdict of the countrey found guiltie. where are then the rest to make vp this many that hee speaketh of? Percase he meaneth his friend *Copinger* and *Wigginton*, and the prophet *Hacket*, & the serpentine brood of *Martin*. for notwithstanding that all these oppugne lawes, and some of them were condemned by ordinary course of law, yet this presumptuous man doth not esteeme them the worse for that, nor liketh of iudges or lawes the better for condemning them.

Well then, if these be the innocents & guiltlesse soules that I haue harmed, wherein doth this great iniurie & harme appeare? forsooth saith he, *he would faine haue M. Cartw. & M. Eg. and M. Vdall to be traitors and conspirators.* would I faine haue them so *M. Throkemorton*? sure no. I neither desire it by worde, nor writing. nay I do desire, & pray to God with all my heart, to make them good subiects, & quiet men, & am sory that scholers and preachers, that might do seruice in the church, by their own forward wils are ioined with the aduersaries in hurting the church, & practising against the present state, to the grief of many good men, & to the hazard of their persons, were not lawes tempred, & mercy extended towards them. *M. Cartw.* knoweth wel what course he hath run against lawes, & how far he was engaged in *Cop.* and *Hackets* cause, conferring with *Cop.* both by word and writing, & consenting, as it semeth, to his deuise, for the violent deliuerance of him & certaine of his companions, as shall more at large appeare anone. Besides this, his whole drift was to ouerthrow her maiesties supremacie and gouernment in ecclesiasticall causes; & to disgrace all ecclesiasticall lawes, & to establish a new gouernment. *M. Eger.* cannot deny his familiaritie with *Cop.* & how he both wrote to him, & receiued letters from him concerning his extraordinary calling and wicked purpose. & all men know y<sup>e</sup> he nourisheth malcontentment by his preaching, & liueth in open malcontentmēt both against her Ma. ecclesiasticall lawes, and the ecclesiasticall state, and yet I doe not charge either

<sup>r</sup> Copinger writing to him thereof, he neuer disclosed his purpose.



either him or his felowes directly with any thing, nor any way seeke or desire vnto them other hurt, then that their malicious mindes being changed, they would become wise men, and liue as becommeth loyall subiects, renouncing all confederacies, intelligences, complots, and practises tending vnto innouation, and change of state. And because I would they should know the clemencie of these times, I aske them a question, concerning letters that passed betwixt them and *Copinger*, rather to put them in minde of their deserts, then to bring vpon them their desert. And what harme is there in this? may not a man hauing so iust cause aske them a question? why then did the *Petitioner* make so many questions? Is it such a deadly and bloody matter to touch *M. Cartwr.* who neuer feared to touch his superiors, and whose fingers were so farre in *Copingers* matters? why then was hee wont without cause to medle with matters of gouernment, and to spare none that stood well affected to the state?

Likewise, why doeth *M. Egerton* make so many inuectiues against particulars, euery way, discovering his malcontentment? all which notwithstanding, God is my witnes, I neither, sought *M. Cartwrights* hurt nor his, nor yet doe, nor ever wished other, then that they may see their owne errors and follies, and so amend them, and liue as becometh men of their place. Whether they would doe the like with vs if the time serued, I haue cause to suspect, especially considering how some of that side doe prosecute one *M. Bussi*, onely because he was in my Lord Archbishops house, and how others are caried away with partialitie and affection, and generally how full of iniustice and tyrannie their whole proceeding is. Which if *Throkorton* did know, he would then cease to accuse me either of deadly stinging, or bloody minde, hauing no other cause then the malice of his heart, that driueth on his serpentine tongue to raile on whom he listeth.

As for *M. Udal*, he is now dead, and therefore I let him rest, yet both the records of the *Crowne office*, and the letters of *Copinger* doe declare, that hee was not so innocent as *Throkorton* would make him.

Neither, (to speake of the most part,) are the chiefe actors in  
N 3 this



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<sup>1</sup> In their answers to the 2. and 3. interrog. which are in that Court published.

<sup>2</sup> Ad 4. interrog.

<sup>3</sup> Ad 5. interrog.

<sup>4</sup> Depositions of Iohnson and Edmunds ad 6. interrog.

<sup>5</sup> Theolog. sacra.

<sup>6</sup> Answer ad interrog. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Buchan. de iure regi.

<sup>8</sup> Epist. before the humble motion.

<sup>9</sup> 1. Admonition.

<sup>10</sup> Page 62.

<sup>11</sup> 1. Admonit.

p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Martins Epist.

10. 53.

<sup>13</sup> Motion. p. 4.

this pageant of discipline so guiltlesse, and innocent, as is pretended. <sup>1</sup> *Tho. Cartwright, Snape, Proudlone*, and others being examined in the Starre-chamber vpon certaine points of her Maiesties supremacie, refuse to answer, and plead, *that they are not bound thereto*. Doe you thinke if they allowed it, they would not confesse it? Being demaunded likewise, *whether they would acknowledge the Ecclesiasticall gouernment established by her Maiestie, to be lawfull and allowed by Gods word*, <sup>2</sup> they did obstinately refuse to answer. They would not cōfesse being <sup>3</sup> there-to pressed, that the Sacraments administred according to the forme prescribed by the Church, were godly and rightly ministred. they doe not <sup>4</sup> accompt of vs, that refuse their new discipline, as of their Christian brethren.

Diuers of them haue further set downe very dangerous positions preiudiciall to the princes authoritie, and state. framing to themselues a table of Ecclesiasticall gouernours, they haue not once mentioned the Magistrates authoritie. <sup>5</sup> *Fenner* giueth authoritie to inferiour persons to restraine their Soueraigne, as did the *Ephori* of *Sparta*. that booke *M. Cartwright* highly commendeth, albeit in the Starre-chamber he seemed to <sup>6</sup> retract his Epistle by denying that ground. the seditious booke of *Goodman*, and the booke entituled of *Obedience*, allowing the killing and deposing of Princes, proceeded from men of this faction. <sup>7</sup> *Buchanan* condemned not onely the prerogatiue of Princes, but their port and state also.

They haue railed against this whole state, against her Maiestie, against the Parliament, against the Lords of her counsell, against the inferior magistrates, against the whole clergy, against the religion here professed, and Sacraments here administred. *Penry* saith, <sup>8</sup> *England hath an impudent forehead*. He that made the epistle before the *demonstrations of discipline* (as they are called) saith, *that England of all nations, that haue renounced the hore of Rome, is most out of square*. The authors of the <sup>9</sup> *Admonition* say, *that wee of England haue scarce the outward face of a Church*. He that made the <sup>10</sup> *Supplicatiō* affirmeth, *that our reformation is litle better then the religion of the Samaritanes*. <sup>11</sup> They cōdemne our gouernment by archbishops & bishops, as *antichristian & diuulsh*. Of her Maiestie they <sup>12</sup> say. *she is seduced; that she is* <sup>13</sup> *negligent* of



of her duety, and vntthankfull to God. They <sup>1</sup> compare her cunningly to Ieroboam, Ahab, Iehoram, Abaz, Gedeon, Nadab, Saul, Iehu, Asa, and Iehosaphat. The authors of the second *Admonition* condemne the court of Parliament, as deuoyd of equitie and good conscience. The author of the *supplication to the Parliamēt* <sup>2</sup> threatneth the same with the terrible masse of Gods wrath; and saith, that if they refuse to grant his request concerning his fantazies, they <sup>3</sup> betray God, and the trueth, & the king dome. He that made the preface before that treatise that is entituled, *Reformation no enemy*, chargeth the Lords with violence, and oppression, with rebellion against God, disloyaltie against her Maiesty, insolency & defacing the trueth. He calleth them robbers, and compareth them to Pilate, who said he had power to crucifie Christ. The *Magistracie* and ministry, saith <sup>4</sup> he, haue walked hand in hand in the contempt of true religion. He <sup>5</sup> calleth them wicked lawyers, and wicked Iudges and Attorneys. The common law, he calleth the <sup>6</sup> mystresse of the stewes.

<sup>1</sup> Gilby p. 66.  
68. 142. Moti-  
on. p. 31. 32. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Page 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>4</sup> Epist. before  
reformation no  
enemie.

<sup>5</sup> Ibidem. A. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. B. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Supplic. p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Martins Epist.

<sup>10</sup> D. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Hay any  
worke.

<sup>12</sup> Gilby.

<sup>13</sup> Epistle from  
Scotland before  
reformation no  
enemie.

<sup>14</sup> 1. Admonit.  
p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> 2. Admonit.  
p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> They are con-  
tained in a cer-  
taine pamphlet  
entitled, *Dis-  
ciplina sacra*.

Against the reuerend fathers of the Church they raile most despitefully. they cal them <sup>7</sup> wolues, <sup>8</sup> enemies to sinceritie, <sup>9</sup> poysoned and persecuting priests, monstrous & vngodly wretches, an antichristian and swinish rable. The most reuerend father in God my lord of Canterbury in a certaine <sup>10</sup> dialogue, that came frō Job Throkmorton that here pleadeth not guiltie, is called *Belzebub of Canterbury the chiefe of the diuels*. Bishops are called <sup>11</sup> pettie Popes, pettie Antichrists, and incarnate diuels. I shame to report those reprochfull termes, which these factious companions doe giue vnto them.

<sup>12</sup> Inferiour ministers are called hogs, dogs, wolues, foxes, simoniacs. Againe, <sup>13</sup> a cursed and uncircumcised generation, a troupe of soule murtherers, and sacrilegious Church-robbers. They charge vs further, that <sup>14</sup> we haue no true religion; that our <sup>15</sup> Service is full of corruptiō, that our Sacraments are wickedly mangled, & prophaned. And this is conteined in those <sup>16</sup> admonitions which T. Cartwr. taketh on him against the beards of all our gouernours to defend, and yet contenteth not himselfe, that he is not punished.

Not content to disgrace the present forme of Religion, and gouernment, & those that maintaine the same; they haue presumptuously taken vpō them to set downe both new formes of faith and Gods seruice, and also new formes and <sup>17</sup> orders for gouernment;



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gouernment; they subscribed and confirmed the same with subscriptions and voyces; they appointed new officers to rule according to those lawes; and all this contrary to the Lawes of the Realme, and iniunctions of the Christian Magistrate.

Afterward when y<sup>e</sup> insolencie of this factiō grew intollerable, some of y<sup>e</sup> principal leaders were called for. But so far were they from submission, that some of them refused to take their oathes before her Maiesties Commissioners and the Iudges, and others being sworne refused to answer. and that so obstinately, that neither the perswasions of friendes, nor resolutions of Iudges could worke any thing with them. for which diuers of them were committed.

The inferiour sort of this faction in the meane while began to flocke together, to whisper, and mutter. some of them sticke not to vtter great words of discontentment. <sup>1</sup>Nay, before this time, *Snape* declared in the hearing of one *Holmes* and *Hawgar*, *That the Bishops should be ouerthrowen, and the discipline erected in one day.* They beganne to bragge of their multitude: the author of the motion with submission saith, *that thousands sighed for this discipline.* <sup>2</sup>Martin saith, *that a hundred thousand handes might be gotten to subscribe. Which, saith hee, would strike a great stroke.* Wherefore partly for the deliuerance of the heads of the faction then in prison, and partly for the setting vp of the Eldership, they determined to vse force & stirre the people. *Edmonds* <sup>3</sup>deposeth directly, that *Field* should say, *That seeing neither by sute, nor dispute they could preuaile, they must bring matters to passe by the people.* *Sneccan* teacheth y<sup>e</sup> disciplinarians what course to take where the Prince wil not admit the discipline. First, saith he, *Let the Prince bee admonished, then instructed, and if neither will serue, then let the Ministers execute their office according to the appointment of* <sup>4</sup>*Christ.* This aduise one <sup>5</sup>*Paine*, a man of some note among this Sect thought good to be followed. In a certaine dialogue betwixt *Diotrephes* and others, they commend certaine men that brought in their discipline by tumult of the people. There it is said, *that there were a hundred thousand of this sect in England.*

Vpon presumption of these their numbers and forces, *Hacker*, *Copinger*, and *Wigginton* beganne to plot matters in their head,

<sup>1</sup> Depositions in the Starre-chamber.

<sup>2</sup> Martin senior.

<sup>3</sup> In the Starre-chamber.

<sup>4</sup> As if Christ had appointed any such Elderships as they haue; or allowed force for the setting them vp.  
<sup>5</sup> Paine to F.



head, whereby they thought not only to cut the throtes of their aduersaries, and deliuer their friends, but also to set vp the whole frame of their new gouernment, mauger all their heades, that should withstand it. This is declared by *Wiggintons*<sup>1</sup> letter to one *Porter*. *M. Cartwright*, saith he, is in the *Fleete* for refusall of the oath, and *M. Knewstubs* is sent for, and sundry other worthy Ministers are disquieted, who haue bin spared long. So that we looke for some bickering ere long, and then a battell, which cannot long endure. At the same time the report of these stirres, that were here expected for the cause of the new discipline flewe abroad into sundry countreis. There is here, (saith<sup>2</sup> one writing out of Scotland, to a friend of his in England,) great word of sundry vprores which I trust to be false, or repressed in due season by her Maiestie. *Arthington*<sup>3</sup> confessed that *Penry* had sent him word out of Scotland, that reformation (so they call their tumultuous confusion) must shortly be erected in England. *Copinger* & *Arthington* charged<sup>4</sup> *Wigginton* in the Lords name to put all Christians in comfort, that they should see a ioyfull alteration in the state of Church gouernment. *Copinger*, for auoyding of incōueniences that might ensue in the tumult, aduise<sup>5</sup> the Lords to keepe their chambers or houses. Of them he had giuen a hard sentence. The Lord, saith he, pardon their soules: for in the outward man they must be punished, though they repent. They gaue sentence,<sup>6</sup> that her highnesse was worthy to be deprived for giuing credit and countenance to Bishops. *Hacket* confessed to *M. Yong*, That it was a gracious and happy turne that these treasons were in time reueiled, which otherwise would haue cost a number of innocent men their blood. If vpon the day appointed *M. Cartwr.* and his fellowes had appeared in the Star-chamber, *Copinger* had determined to doe some horrible execution vpon the Lords. If our preachers,<sup>7</sup> saith he, doe appeare to morow in the Star-chamber, and our great men deale with them so, as it is thought they wil, if God do not throw some feareful iudgement amongst them, so as some of the chiefe go not a line out of the place, then neuer credit me in anything whilest you liue. <sup>8</sup> *Arthington* in his discourse reporteth, that *Copinger* tolde him, That he knew a way how to bring the Queene to repentance, and to cause all her Councill and Nobles to doe the like, or to detect them to be traitors that refused. How this repentance should be wrought, it appeareth by the discourse of

<sup>1</sup> Dat. 6. No-  
uember 1590.

<sup>2</sup> P. A. 7. De-  
cember 1590.

<sup>3</sup> In his exami-  
nation.

<sup>4</sup> Confessed in  
their examina-  
tion.

<sup>5</sup> In a letter of  
his.

<sup>6</sup> *Arthington*  
examination the  
19. of Iuly.

<sup>7</sup> In a letter of  
his to Lancaster.



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<sup>1</sup> Hist. Church  
of Scotland.

of the murder of the Archbishop of S. Andrewes<sup>1</sup> Anno. 1546. there it is said, that Peter Carmichael, and Norman Lesly stroke him first, but James Meluin presenting to him the point of his sword, said, repent thee of thy former wicked life, and so after some short speach dispatched him. which is a very compendious kinde of bringing men to repentance.

<sup>2</sup> Supplication  
to the gouer-  
nours of Wales.

<sup>3</sup> P. 214. 215.

<sup>4</sup> In Epilog.  
<sup>5</sup> De iure Ma-  
gist. in subdit.  
P. 97.

<sup>6</sup> Goodman, and  
the booke of  
obedience.

<sup>7</sup> See my trea-  
tise of Eccle-  
siastical disci-  
pline, where this  
is at large pro-  
ued.

All those assertions which either restraine the princes autho-  
ritie, or giue power to inferiour Magistrates, or to the people to  
introduce a violent reformation, as they call it, or allow extraor-  
dinary callings to that purpose tend to this end, and shew what  
a dangerous practise some had heretaken in hand for the ere-  
ction of the Cōsistorial discipline. <sup>2</sup> Penry goeth about to perswade  
the lord President of Wales, by the example of Moses, Iehosuah, Da-  
uid, Salomon, Iehosaphat, Hezekiah, Nehemiah and others, to take  
in hand their pretended reformation in that country. <sup>3</sup> Goodman  
would proue, that inferiour officers within their limits had power al-  
beit contrary to their Souereignes will, to set orders of gouernment.  
Those that would still obey her Maiesties Ecclesiasticall lawes,  
Martin Iunior calleth <sup>4</sup> whitelined souldiors. <sup>5</sup> Others teach, when  
Princes grow to be tyrants, & inferiour Magistrates wil not do their  
dueties, that the people then, if any Jonathan will step forth to be their  
captaine, are bound to ioyne themselves vnto him. By the examples  
of Moses that killed the Egyptian, of Phinehas who in zeale killed  
the adulterers, of Abud that killed Eglon, of Iael that killed Zizara,  
<sup>6</sup> they go about to prooue, that priuate men by extraordinary motion  
may kill idolatrous princes and tyrants.

Hauing then shewed themselves so refractary & vndutiful in  
denying and oppugning her Maiesties supremacie, and holding  
so dangerous positions against the Lawes and present gouern-  
ment, and hauing most shamefully diffamed not only her Maie-  
sties godly reformatiō, but also our Religion, our preaching, our  
Sacraments, & al our ecclesiastical gouernment, despitefully rai-  
ling vpo the Lords, Iudges, Bishops and whole clergy that fa-  
uour the same, and lastly entring into a course by force & faction  
to set vp a new <sup>7</sup> gouernment cōtrary to Apostolical rules, to the  
lawes of the land, to the royal dignitie of the prince, the libertie  
of the subiects, the priuiledges of the *Uniuersities*, the iudgment  
of all learned men of time past, the reputation and state of the  
Clergie,



Clergie, a gouernment I say, most absurd and vnreasonable, and tending to the viter ouerthrow of Religion, of learning and the rewards of learning, and seeking to erect the same by tumult of the people, and to lay the foundation of it in the blood of true Christians and loyall subiects; I trust they are not so innocent, but that they may be called into question.

If they deny that they were acquainted with these courses, their words, writings, & doings wil couince them. that they op-  
pugne y<sup>e</sup> princes supremacie in ecclesiastical causes, it is most ap-  
parant; for they neither allow her power to make lawes, nor to  
appoint officers, nor to determine matters in Ecclesiast. causes.  
Their books testifie what seditious doctrine they teach. the rest  
is apparant in that they allowed tumultuous subscriptions, dan-  
gerous meetings, by hundreds & thousands together, the sediti-  
ous libels of *Martin*, & other bad courses for the erectiō of their  
discipline. *M. Cartwright* vpo the cōming forth of *Martin* is re-  
ported to haue said, *that it was no matter, if the Bishops were so han-*  
*dled, seeing they would take no warning.* Nay this whole faction  
was but too well acquainted with *Copingers* and *Hackets* most  
dangerous, and trecherous conspiracy. *Wigginton* was <sup>1</sup> *Hackets* old acquaintance, and made him acquainted with *Copinger* and  
*Arthington*. *Hacket* <sup>2</sup> desired nothing els, then that *M. Cart.* and  
*his fellowes* might vnderstand his sound heart. *M. Cartwr.* was the  
man whom he preferred for some things before al others; & for  
whose sake their enterprise was first attempted. <sup>3</sup> *Wigginton* pro-  
phecied of *a bickering & then a battel*; he published also certeine  
rimes to prepare mens minds to discōtentment. *Penry* before a-  
ny such matter was of the Magistrats vnderstood, wrote newes  
out of *Scotland*. when the enterprise broke out, then <sup>4</sup> was he in  
*London*, to be ready for his part, if any mischiefe should be execu-  
ted. And lest any man might be ignorant, *Copinger* wrote letters  
vnto diuers of his friēds & consorts, both to acquaint them with  
his purposes, and also to giue them the watchword of his enter-  
prise, y<sup>e</sup> they might, as like it was, be ready to assist him for their  
parts. To *M. Cart.* he wrote <sup>5</sup> *that he would be ready to acquaint him*  
*both with generalities & particularities*: giuing him also to vnder-  
stand how dangerous the practise was. That *M. Cart.* was a medler  
in these matters, & wel vnderstood them, it appeareth by a letter

<sup>1</sup> *Hackets* histo-  
rie.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to  
*Wigginton*.

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to  
*Porter*.

<sup>4</sup> Examination  
of *Ienken Iohn*.

<sup>5</sup> *Copinger* to  
*Th. C.*



## An answer vnto

1 June 1591.

of Iohn Bowman a seruant in Oundel, to Wigginton. I desire you, <sup>1</sup>saith he, to send me a copy of a writing which you had from M. Cart. upon the court matters, when Goodman Hacket was with you the first time. Note also that Th. Cartwr. receiuing two letters from Copinger whose copies we haue, did not disswade him nor reiect him, but rather willed him, that hee should attempt nothing but by aduise, and that he should be wise and circumspect. <sup>2</sup>Copinger greatly commendeth M. Cartwr. cariage of himselfe, who albeit in words he seemed to mislike his deuise, yet in trueth did comfort and encourage him. In summe, albeit Copinger did signifie vnto him, that he <sup>3</sup>was to take in hand such businesse, as in the eyes of flesh and blood was likely to bring great danger to himselfe, and unlikely to bring any good successe to the Church; yet did M. Cartwr. conceale his purpose, and practise.

2 In a letter to a friend. May. 21. 1591.

3 Copingers letter to T. Cartwr.

4 It must be defended by men vnlearned. Learned men see the vanitie of it.

5 The redemption of the Puritan faction, consisteth in the tumultuous erection of the Presbytery.

6 Copinger to Gibson.

7 Gibson in a letter to Copinger.

8 Dated May 21.

9 Ibid.

In his letter to Udal he writeth, that certaine <sup>4</sup>vnlearned men then lying hid, would shortly take vpon them the defence of the cause, which hee and his brethren in prison stood for, and would thereby daunt all their enemies more then they could. He exhorteth therefore, both him and the rest, thereupon to cheare vp themselves: for that the day of their <sup>5</sup>redemption was at hand. M. Charke when he preached in the blacke Friers, that some were so desperat, as wilfully to runne themselves vpon rockes, could not be ignorant what a desperat attempt Copinger entred into; yet held he his peace, and said nothing.

How M. Egerton would not quench Copingers zeale, it appeareth already. Vnto <sup>6</sup>Gibson a Scot he writeth, that the state of our Church grew worse, and worse, and that some would venture the losse of their liues to doe seruice therein. Whereunto Gibson <sup>7</sup>returned answer, that he had conferred with the best of the ministry where he was, and that there was a letter ready to be sent to Iunius, and finally that the French King should be moued, and all good offices done for the behoofe of Copinger and his brethren. By a letter of <sup>8</sup>his to a Lawyer, that shal be namelesse, it appeareth, That eight ministers hauing notice giuen, that somewhat was to bee done for Gods glory, at one time ioyned in a fast; Wherein no doubt they prayed God to blesse his endeouours. Why hee did not in his letters acquaint them with the particuler point of his treason, but left it to their secret vnderstanding, he <sup>9</sup>declareth himselfe



selfe to be this, for that great danger might thereby grow to them, and no good to him.

He wrote also to diuers gentlemen and lawyers that seemed to fauour that newe course and opinion, to one, that hee should thanke *M. Cartwr.* for satisfiying him in certaine questions, to *M. Throkmorton* as before is declared; to *M. Peter<sup>2</sup> Wentworth*, that he would come up, that he might conferre with him, about the seruice of God, as *P. Wentw.* calleth it. which these men place especial-ly in the erection of the eldership. *Throkmorton* answered, that he would ioyne with him in affection, but in the matter, <sup>3</sup> point. hee sawe it was somewhat too sawcie. *Wentworth* exhorteth him to take good aduise, and then to be bold and of good courage. It appeareth also that *Gardiner*, *Phillips*, and diuers other ministers about London and else-where, albeit *Copinger* wrote not vnto them, yet were acquainted with his doings. *Lancaster* was a speciall man and most in ward with *Copinger*. neither need wee doubt, but euen the common sort as appeareth by *Snapes* wordes, had intelligence of *Copingers* complots.

These matters standing thus, who can iustly blame me for asking a question or two of those, who had so farre engaged themselves in this factious cause? *M. Throk.* hath no cause to bee offended with me, and if he haue cause of offence, & haue in these matters offended: yet there is no reason hee should take vpon him to giue me counsell. but if he haue any counsell to giue, let him giue it to his friends that want it; or because he standeth in need of it himselfe, let him take it, and vse it himselfe. I looke for no friendship at his handes, nor desire any acquaintance with such busie malcontents, nor take him to be a man of authoritie or wisdom, to giue any such godly counsell as he pretendeth, being ouer charged neither with godlinesse nor honestie, nor able to gouerne himselfe or his. It were more fit hee were about his worke-folkes, then scribbling of these fooleries, or presuming to giue aduise, which himselfe confesseth to be poore, & we see is bare, and euery one will acknowledge to be wilesse, and I suspect to be fruitlesse, as comming from such a forlorne counsellor, being fit for nothing, but to abuse his readers patience, and mispend good houres.

But let vs heare this graue counsellors, learned, & wise sawe.



## An answer vnto

I would, saith he, aduise him, seeing the reuenger of the innocent is mightie, for all his huffing and distemper, to bethinke him how he proceedeth on in his vncristian veine of biting and bitternesse, against such especially whom their greatest aduersaries doe<sup>1</sup> reuerently account of. and this forsooth he calleth a friendly aduise, as if there were any friendship in calumniation, or no difference betweene railing and aduising. I answered therefore briefly, that euil doeth it be seeme him, or his consorts to reprehend any for bitternesse, and biting, no man being more eger then themselues. and so farre doeth *Throk Morton* excel the rest, that they seeme ashamed to come behind him so farre. Consider I pray you his Satyricall epistles & treatises set forth vnder diuers counterfeit names, & marke his scurrilous scoffes & bitter inuectiues, his dog-rhetorike, & his fierie & vulcanical satyrs, his gunpowder libels printed by the gunpowder mā: consider also what he deserueth that vseth this base kinde of dealing against magistrates, lawes, against men of singular pietie, grauitie, learning, yea, against authoritie and gouernment; and whether this ale-bench scolding, and railing veine, be that christian veine, which he would haue others to imitate. and because the brotherhood may percase deny *Throk Morton* to be any paterne for others to folow, looke I pray you vpon *Th. Cartwrights* vnciuil, and biting tauntes and termes, and then you shall easily see, that these men haue no cause to complaine of bitternesse vnlesse it were to preoccupe the obiections of others. For example, may it please you to consider of these particulars. Master<sup>2</sup> *Cartwright* calleth the grauest prelate in this land by a name, I am ashamed to vtter, for that it toucheth the honour not of him onely, but of the prince also. His learned labours he calleth dung; the ministerie he calleth rouing and wandering; hee compareth his aduersaries to dogs and gheese nourished in the capitol.

The<sup>3</sup> authors of the admonition call the bishops and inferior prelates, a proude generation, and obiect to them tyrannie, crueltie, vngratiousnesse, and popelike lordlinesse. in another place they call them wolues, and charge them with *Antichristianitie*.

*Gilbie* vseth more churlish & vnciuil termes. for he calleth the hogs, dogs, wolues, foxes, *simoniacks*, proctors of *Antichrists* inuention

<sup>1</sup> No man reading this discourse will account those against whom I deale, either innocent or reuend.

<sup>2</sup> 1. Reply.

<sup>3</sup> 1. Admonit. prefa. which T. C. taketh on him to defend.



tion, popish chapmen, halting neutrals, yea, and master Egerton for all his smooth lookes, will often inueigh against his superiours, and vse very homely termes. he <sup>1</sup> calleth the clergie *cornutum elerum*: which if a man had vsed to him and his felowes, he would and might haue taken it offensively. <sup>2</sup> In his epistle to Fenne.

Another of this crue <sup>2</sup> saith, that our supposed ministers are *a multitude of desperate and forlorne Atheists, a cursed, uncircumcised and murdering generation.* <sup>3</sup> Epistle before reformation, no enimie.

Albeit the Papists spare vs not, yet very common humanitie will not suffer them to raile in this sort. Vdall in his <sup>3</sup> dialogue calleth bishops *enemies of God, robbers, wolues, symoniacks, persecuters, sowers of sedition.* <sup>4</sup> In his dialogue.

To let passe the rest, and to speake onely of my wise and learned aduersarie that complaineth so much of my bitternesse and biting; consider I pray you what he writeth of the bishops. He <sup>4</sup> calleth them *unnaturall, false, and bastardy gouernours of the church, pettie popes, pettie Antichrists, incarnate diuels, bishops of the deuil.* In Martins <sup>5</sup> epistle wherein hee had a finger, hee <sup>6</sup> saith in plaine termes, *that they are cogging and coofening knaues.* Hee calleth them *proud, popish, presumptuous, prophane, paltrie, pestilent pernicious prelates.* In another <sup>6</sup> libell he calleth <sup>7</sup> my lord Archbishop, *Belzebub of Canterbury, Canterbury Caiphas, Esau, a monstrous Antichristian Pope,* termes most shamefull, malicious, and diuelish. <sup>8</sup> In hay any worke. <sup>9</sup> P. 37. <sup>10</sup> Martin sen.

If he can espie in all my writings, either so many, or any such termes against any, or any vnciuill termes against such graue and reuerend men, as hee vttereth in one leafe, I will yeeld him to haue reason to complaine. If hee can alleage none, let him cease to touch others, where himselfe is most faultie. In this small discourse hee cannot abstaine from many euill wordes. but what should I looke for other at his hands that hath such a serpentine language? If then Gods iudgements should bee powred forth vpon malicious backbiters and wicked railers, that traduce the names of innocent men; what would become of this wicked and clamorous generation of consistorian writers that take to themselues libertie to declaime and raile against all commers? what would become of this stoute railing aduersarie? if their faces were ground, and their heads beaten



*An answer vnto*

beaten to powder, that offend in backbiting, what would become of *Iob Throk*, scornfull nose, and the railing tongues of *Martins* malicious kinred?

As for mine owne part, I doe not see either any such heate, or huffing, as this gentleman that is so liberall of his tongue, & that from counselling is suddenly fallen in railing, pretendeth; neither can I perceiue any other fault in my writings, that can iustly by *M. Throk*, be reprooued. If there had bene any such fault as he doth insinuate, I trust I should haue seen the particulars in this famous bill, or rather to speake trueth, this infamous libell. Dissenting from *M. Calvin* and *Beza* in some pointes, I doe it with reuerence; dealing against their opinions, I spare the men. and yet *Beza* forgetting himselfe, hath not spared me, a minister in this church, as himselfe is else-where, and being now, as himselfe was sometimes, and in place where hee would not intermeddle, if he were wise.

Contending against a generation of presumptuous and waiward disciplinarians in England, that contend against the ecclesiasticall gouernment of the church, yet did I touch the cause, rather then the men, vnlesse together with their cause, they would needs conioine the men, & by needlesse articles, interrogatories & obiections, perforce draw me to name some persons. I did not begin any of these quarels, nor did I seeke contention, which they purposed to make endlesse, but answered first in defence of the state and present gouernment, and then for my selfe and my friends, whom these felowes would needs traduce. and yet in such<sup>1</sup> modest sort, that I doubt not but my words wil passe if they be laied down as they were written, before the eies of any indifferent men. if they thinke it lawfull to oppugne lawes, and officers, and disgrace the ecclesiasticall state; why should it be thought vnlawful for me to answer for lawes, and resolutely to repell a packe of malcontents, that maligne the state and seeke for innouation?

Neither do I thinke but God will accept my good meaning and simple labours which I haue vndertaken in defence of trueth, and the state of this church, whereupon I make no question, but that the state of religion doeth in a great part depend. well assured I am, *M. Throk* *morton* cannot charge me iustly with  
any

\* If he wil needs  
accuse me of bit-  
ternesse, let him  
set downe my  
words as I wrote  
them,



any wrong I haue done. if he can shew it, I will not only retract my words, but also make amends to any whō I haue wronged.

But in the meane while, when will master *Th. Cartwr.* make a retraction of that erroneous doctrine which hee hath taught & allowed in diuers treatises? whē will he make vp that schisme, and rent that he hath made in the church of England, or make an amends for that scandale hee hath giuen in discrediting this church, and setting out and making an idole of his disciplinarian fantasies? when will hee and his consorts condemne the impious courses and vnlawfull and vnciuill practises of *Martin* and *Penry*? when will master *Iob Throkmorton* that now goeth masked with a vizard of grauitie, retract all those malicious flaunders, and all that odious scurrilitie that he hath degorged, published, and maintained in *Martins* epistles, *Some in his colours*, and such other infamous discourses? When will the rest of that faction leaue libelling, flaundering, writing of letters to ladies, and railing? when will they cease their priuie conuenticles, their night-watching, their hypocriticall Sundayes fasting, and detest all their odious fantasies? I feare they will not bee ouerhastie to answere. and if they answere any thing, I thinke *Throkmorton* will say, that we shall be satisfied in all this at king *Arthurs* next comming, or because he deliteth to speak French, *a la venue de coquecigrues.*

It may be that master *Throkmorton* and his felowes doe take it in euill part to bee named in certaine articles and interrogatories set downe in my answere to the petition, and esteeme that a high and heinous wrong offered to their persons. but if that course bee iniurious, why did they begin it? if they set forth questions, there is no cause they should thinke much to bee answered. if they will name others, they must haue patience to bee named themselues. If they will needes declaime against lawes and gouernours, they must not thinke strange, if wee touch certaine of the chiefe heads of this faction. to write against a state, and yet to admit no answere, is a meere tyranny grounded on will, more then reason. if they will speake euill, they must be content to heare truth. neither would I haue master *Throkmorton* leape out of patience, because I answere this his letter. For why did hee publish it, if hee would not haue it

P

examined?



examined? if he had saide nothing of me, he should haue heard nothing from me. At this time I could euil haue spared so many houres to answer so friuolous matter, hauing taken on me to deale with a stronger and more learned adueriary, & in a more important matter, but that this man doeth importune me, and that the cause of trueth is not to bee abandoned, though slenderly oppugned.

Notwithstanding I doe purpose to deale as gently with *M. Throkorton*, as I may, & so also with others. neither do I thinke, haue I dealt otherwise heretofore, but that these fellowes cannot abide any wordes, vnlesse they be as soft as *stiffeta* and *satin*. To tell me therefore of my good friend and fellow labourer *M. Hooker* and of his good nature and mildnesse, was altogether needlesse. In the cause we doe very wel consent and agree, and much do we not dissent in the maner of our proceeding. Both of vs do defend not any new *Hierarchy* or ciuill policy, but y<sup>e</sup> cause of trueth, order, decencie, Religion, gouernment which *Throkorton* cannot disgrace by calling it the *Hierarchy*, seeing as the same is a word alwaies vied in good part, & by this faction foolishly abused; and the cause it selfe most honest and right. Both of vs do likewise know the men against whom wee write, and no man now can be ignorant either of the qualitie of the cause or persons, vnlesse he be bewitched, or haue his senses benumbed. *M. Hooker* giueth some good words to some that thinke but to wel of the Churchaldermans cause. so do I to, so much as I may without betraying the cause, but it is to such as are abused, not to those that are the firebrands of contention. Such men neither of vs can, or doe discharge of suspicion of bad practises, or disorderly attempting against the present gouernment of the Church.

But, saith *M. Throkorton*, I would gladly know for my learning what point of *Cosmography* *M. Sutcliffe* holdeth this to be, namely to presse men so egerly, to the defence of the cause, and in the meane season by the verdure and venom of his penne, to draw as it were a kinde of enditement of treason and conspiracie against them, and so to put them to the iumpe and defence of their lines. For answer whereof I say, that I do not presse them to the defence of the cause. Nay I would be glad rather they would relinquish so bad a cause, and not defend it, which in deed they haue done, not for any eger-  
nesse



nesse of mine, but for the weakenesse of their cause. I called on them for answer, not to presse them further then it pleased the, but because I would haue it appeare, that being solemnly summoned to make answer, they made default. which they can not excuse nowe, because I asked them a question or two of *Hackets* matters, nor with alledging, that they are charged with matter preiudiciall to their safetie. For first it is euident they are most fauourably delt withall, and I am glad that it appeareth, that they are not beaten downe with authoritie, or kept in order with terrour of lawes, but conuincd with plaine demonstrations of trueth, and silenced with arguments and reasons.

Secondly I say, that it is ridiculousto call two or three questions, an enditement of treason and conspiracie; and very calumnious, to charge the state with rigour and extremitie, as if their liues were sought, when men onely seeke they should liue in order. but belike enditements run still in master *Throk*. mind, and well doeth he vnderstand what his doings haue deserued. Yet I would he should also remember, that there is great difference betwixt two or three questions, and an enditement; and that whatsoeuer the desert is of his coparteners, yet they haue not bene put to any iumpe for their liues. *M. Throk*. himselfe, when no man put him to the iumpe, yet leaped and iumped so, that no officer could set eie vpon him, or iumpe with him.

Further, all men that are acquainted with the humors of these men doe well know, that if they had any thing to say, no bond of law, nor feare of punishment could restraine them. *M. Cartwright* doeth in plaine termes affirme, that if euery haire of his head were a life, he would afoord them all for the defence of his cause. and if the discipline bee a part of the Gospell, it is no honest excuse for them to say, that they abandone it for feare of their liues. better it were therefore for master *Throckmorton* to deale plainly, and to confesse, that the disciplinarians that of long time haue bene puffed vp with the vaine praises and applause of the multitude, and haue triumphantly as it were, marched vpon the stage, from whence they proclaymed the prayses of the consistorie, are nowe at the ende of their part, and can say no more. for neither is it a matter so dangerous to defend the cause of discipline, as may appeare by diuers, that haue not at any time bene called in question for it;



*An answer vnto*

nor if it were dangerous, doe these men feare danger. neither neede they to feare it, considering how easie a matter it is to goe to Geneva and Heidelberg, from whence *Tho. Cartwr.* sent vs ouer all that fardle of foolery, which he entitleth his replies.

Fourthly, it is rather a meanes to extort an answer from a man that meaneth to bee silent, then to put him to silence, to charge him with such hainous matter as master *Throk* mentioneth. We may not therefore imagine that the faction of disciplinarians, is to put to silence, by I know not what accusations or threatenings. for if they had any thing to say, this rather would moue them to speake, least they might be condemned not onely for their fond opinions, but also for their disloyall and ynduetifull demeanour towards their prince and countrey.

Finally, there are diuers of this humour, that are not charged with any conspiracie or misdemeanour, further then the common grounds of their discipline do charge them. if others keepe silence because of danger, and for feare of enditements, why do not they answer in defence of their cause? why doe not they, I say, prooue vnto vs this other part of the gospell, which *Tho. Cartwr.* and others haue lately found out, and affirme to consist in their discipline? *Forsooth*, saith M. *Throk*. *it were much fairer play, and an eauener course, to cleare them of treason first, and then to tender them the challenge afterward;* as if it were not their parts to cleare themselues of all suspition of treason, if any had bene obiected vnto them; or, as if it were any excuse for the Iesuites or Seminarie men to say, that they are charged with matter of treason, and therefore must first be cleared thereof, before they begin to defend their cause. no, they are not so simple, as once to pretend any such matter. But I pray you what cause is this which *Throk*, and his partisans defend, which cannot be defended for feare, least the actors therein should run into danger of treason? is there such affinitie betwixt his cause and treason, that the one cannot be singled from the other? if there bee, sure it is no good cause they do defend: if there be not, why do not the disciplinarians that in time past were woont to bee so forward, come forth to iustifie their forlorne and desperate cause?

He



He telleth vs, *that we throw out the cartell of defiance with one hand, and shake the halter and shewe the hatchet with the other.* Termes, sure, very vndecent, and iniurious, and a matter altogether vntrue. For whatsoeuer *M. Throkmorton* and his fellowes desert is; yet hatchets and halters be instruments that belong to others handling. Challenge I make none, and if I did, yet is not *M. Throkmorton* a man to be challenged. onely I put foorth certaine questions to them, and craue an answer to certaine reasons of mine propounded against this cause of theirs. Which if *M. Throkmortons* conscience did not vexe him, he would answer without once thinking of halters or hatchets. It may be, that the hangman is prouiding of such engines against seditious innouators, and other malefactors. But what is that to *M. Throkmorton*? and if it concerne him, yet are not we the men that seeke matter against him.

In recompence therefore of his friendly aduise; let him take this aduise of me, and if not of mee, yet let him take it of his friends. It is his best to settle himselfe, and to leaue off to write his *Martinical* letters. His offences before this letter was written, were almost forgotten; and no man for ought I know, meant to call him in question for them. rather sure forgotten, then pardoned. Why then should he reuiue matters forgotten, and præclude himselfe of pardon? Let him take heede how he standeth too much vpon his owne, and his wayward cōsorts innocencie; and beware that by calumniating of former proceedings, he doe not too much abuse the Princes clemencie. I wil not vse many wordes to him, that I know will not accept my good meaning. Yet thus much I could not chuse but say in answer of *Throk* ynaduised aduise, and inconsiderat counsell.

Throkmorton.

*For this cause, if I thought there were any man to be found in this age so<sup>1</sup> sober and well qualified, that might herein be a director to a man of M. Sutcliffes constitution; I would then intreat him, that when he writes againe, he would make either M. Hooker, or some one discreete man of his owne side, his<sup>2</sup> diall, glasse and direction, for the better temperature of his<sup>3</sup> penne, being ynough and ynough euen diall.*

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<sup>2</sup> In deede M. Throkmorton being so out of order cannot well serue for a

<sup>3</sup> What doth he talke of temperature of pennes, whose penne was either a goole quill, or a rauens fether?



*An answer vnto*

nor if it were dangerous, doe these men feare danger. neither neede they to feare it, considering how easie a matter it is to goe to Geneva and Heidelberg, from whence *Tho. Cartwr.* sent vs ouer all that fardle of foolery, which he entitleth his replies.

Fourthly, it is rather a meanes to extort an answer from a man that meaneth to bee silent, then to put him to silence, to charge him with such hainous matter as master *Throk* mentioneth. We may not therefore imagine that the faction of disciplinarians, is to put to silence, by I know not what accusations or threatenings. for if they had any thing to say, this rather would moue them to speake, least they might be condemned not onely for their fond opinions, but also for their disloyall and vnduetifull demeanour towards their prince and countrey.

Finally, there are diuers of this humour, that are not charged with any conspiracie or misdemeanour, further then the common grounds of their discipline do charge them. if others keepe silence because of danger, and for feare of enditements, why do not they answer in defence of their cause? why doe not they, I say, prooue vnto vs this other part of the gossell, which *Tho. Cartwr.* and others haue lately found out, and affirme to consist in their discipline? *Forsooth*, saith M. *Throk.* *it were much fairer play, and an eauener course, to cleare them of treason first, and then to tender them the challenge afterward;* as if it were not their parts to cleare themselues of all suspicion of treason, if any had bene obiected vnto them; or, as if it were any excuse for the Iesuites or Seminarie men to say, that they are charged with matter of treason, and therefore must first be cleared thereof, before they begin to defend their cause. no, they are not so simple, as once to pretend any such matter. But I pray you what cause is this which *Throk.* and his partisans defend, which cannot be defended for feare, least the actors therein should run into danger of treason? is there such affinitie betwixt his cause and treason, that the one cannot be singled from the other? if there bee, sure it is no good cause they do defend: if there be not, why do not the disciplinarians that in time past were woont to bee so forward, come forth to iustifie their forlorne and desperate cause?

He



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<sup>3</sup> What doth he talke of temperature of pennes, whose penne was either a goose quill, or a rauens fether?



## An answer unto

1 It had bene too much, if I had runne my selfe out of breath.

2 His conforts be the burners of Temples, and robbers of Churches.

3 Whats that?

4 Is Martin and his mates no body?

5 Take heede you hurt not your selfe.

6 A ridiculous conceit, all men may see he leuelled at the Martinists.

7 So be all heretikes, and schismatikes.

8 ἀπαρὶς δυνάμει καὶ λόγῳ.

9 Wicked men by hearing the trueth, are more and more hardened in wickednes.

10 He should say, for deformation.

11 M. Iob Throckmorton is the man, in whom as there is exceeding bitterness, so there is no sweetenesse at all.

12 Come to the faith of Christ, it shall suffice vs.

13 I could wish he would leaue this hypocritical dizardry.

14 Doeth not he that made Martin, blush to speake thus grauely?

15 A fit description of the Disciplinarians humour.

of conscience (if not more then ynough) that he hath thus runne himselfe out of breath already. And unlesse hee should burne a new temple of Diana, I do not see, how he can make himselfe more famous, then he hath done by this new<sup>3</sup> emblazure of his. in which regard, it is, sure, to some<sup>4</sup> body I trow, that M. Hooker writes, when he so solemnly aduise<sup>5</sup>th & admonisheth men, to lay aside the gal of that bitternesse wherein their minds haue hitherto ouer abounded, and with meekenesse to seeke the trueth, &c. Yea and it seemeth by the whole course of this booke, that there is no man in the world (if we may beleene him) more out of loue with an enuened pen, which is the<sup>5</sup> descrier of the poysen of the heart, then he. And therefore, if in this good counsell of his, he did not<sup>6</sup> specially & particulerly, and as it were by name leuel at his brother Sutcliffe aboue others, I must needs say he was too hard and partially bound about th'eyes. For though for mine owne part I be<sup>7</sup> sufficiently perswaded, and my heart<sup>8</sup> thoroughly setteled in the trueth of the cause, notwithstanding a whole library of bookes should be written against it (and the more that is writtē in that kinde, and the more disgraces, that are thus maliciously disgorged out against the defenders thereof, the<sup>9</sup> more I am confirmed) yet dare I passe this promise to M. Hooker, or to any man liuing of his complexion, that if among all those that haue hitherto sued for<sup>10</sup> reformation, he can picke me out but<sup>11</sup> one, that is comparable to M. Sutcliffe, in that sea of bitternesse and overflowing of the gall he speakes of, I will forthwith yeeld him the bucklers, & passe him my recantation under seale; so that he shall be sure to say, that which I beleene M. Sutcliffe will neuer be able to say, to wit, that he hath wonne one disciplinarian to the<sup>12</sup> faith of the Hierarchy. All which considered, I could<sup>13</sup> wish that M. Sutcliffe would something recal himselfe, while he hath time and space, and in remorse of that which is past strike his hand upon his breast, to some<sup>14</sup> blushing and repentance if it might be, before the day of his visitation, remembring that one of the speciall things, that the holy Ghost marketh out as abhorred of the Lord, is a<sup>15</sup> proud heart, a lying tongue, and hands that are swift to shed innocent blood.

M. Sutcliffe.

Not much before this M. Throckmorton promised to giue me some friendly aduise himselfe; now either forgetting his promise, or repēting himself of his liberalitie, he turneth me ouer to  
be



be aduised by others, but especially to *M. Hooker*, a man whom I loue well, & reuerence, although he would gladly, if he could, disgrace and discredit him: yea cōtrary to al decencie where he proposeth him as an example to be folowed. So is he euery way inconstant & vnsettled both in stile, & conceit; but worse then that, ignorant and malicious. Vnto all this idle talke, what needeth any curious answer? only least he should swell with pride of the conceit of his owne wit, and suppose he had said something, where in trueth his conceit is simple, and his sayings of no moment, this I say both for *M. Hooker*, and my selfe; First, that the discourse of his, which he calleth politike, & seemeth scornfully to reiect, is approued by al men of learning that can iudge. Next, that I do willingly hearken and follow any counsell that shal proceed from *M. Hooker*, being a man wise, learned, and my good friend. But in that treatise it is apparant, that he speaketh to *M. Throkorton* and his cōsorts, whom because their writing was neither very sober, nor yet wel qualified, he sought to temper and qualifie. Thirdly, I would gladly know, of what cōstitution *M. Throk*, is, y he should so much mislike men of my constitution, or what this matter of constitution, should pertain to this graue admonitiō. If his aduise be sound, he need not doubt, but I wil approue it: if foolish, euil doth it beseeme a man so wel qualified, as that sober man, of whom he talketh. To tell me of tempering of pennes, & scraping of quils, & such small matters, he needed neuer to seeke for a sober or wel qualified man. himselfe would very well haue serued y turne. Yea albeit he should say nothing, yet I trust I haue learned how to vse my pen, as wel as *M. Throkorton*. I know also, that trueth is best found, when it is sought with meekenesse, without all gall of bitternesse. But yet when it is found, those that wilfully oppugne it, are to be repelled with some acrimony and sharpenesse. Children that are willing to learne, must with gentlenesse be taught, dogs that barke at their teachers must be beaten. Wherein I trust indifferent men will pardon me if any hot words haue escaped me; and the rather, for that they were rather wrung from me by iniury of the aduersary, then sought for by me as taking pleasure in them. *Rubarbe*, they say, is very holtsome, though in taste bitter. and *rubarbaine* medicines helpe cholericke men soonest.

But



But who is this, I beseech you, that giueth vs this graue admonition of laying aside all gall and bitterneffe, and tempering the sharpe humors of mens writings? Is this *M. I. Throkorton* the author of *Martins* Satyres? Is this he whose sulphureous writings *Hodgskins* the gunpouder maker was chosen out to print at *Wolston*? Is this that *Scoggin* that cogg'd foorth the scornefull treatise entituled, *Some in his colours*? Is this he, that made that infamous libell, that was called *More worke for Cooper*, and should haue bene printed in *Lancashire*? Is this that *Martin*, or to hit him right, that *Marprelate*, that like a frantike fellow now crieth out, then protesteth, now gibeth, then raileth, now rageth, then scorneth, now laugheth, eftsoones complai- neth, now talketh of diuine matters, then admixeth *Scoggin*-like scurrilitie? Forsooth as it should seeme, euen the same man. How then is he so suddenly changed? Why, know ye not that these are the effects of discipline to perboile, and refound men a new? But if he be so new refounded, why doeth he with such gall and bitterneffe, declaime against gall and bitterneffe? No- thing, but to let you vnderstand that it is a hard thing for him that knoweth not what is *decorum* in his conuersation, to ob- serue it in writing. Is he then become a conuert? Forsooth such a one as *Hacker* was, that hath conuerted all his minde to doe mischief. Marke I pray you his vaine discourse, how vnseeme- ly it is, and how euil it hangeth together.

If there were, saith he, any man so sober or well qualified that might be a director to a man of *M. Sutcliffes* constitution. What then? I would then, saith he, entreate him when he writes againe, he would make *M. Hooker* or some discreete man, his glasse, for the bet- ter temperature of his penne. But if *M. Throkorton* himselfe could serue for this purpose, what needed he to seeke out a so- ber, and well qualified man? for I doe not thinke, that he is to be taken either for sober or wel qualified. Belike the man much forgot himselfe, doing therein like a forgetfull Master, that sen- ding his man on an errand, ranne before him to do the message himselfe. For mine owne part, I could be wel content to heare such a sober, and well qualified man, as hee speaketh of, and which among his consorts, that are so headie and rash, is not ea- sie to be found. But what is *M. Throkorton*? will he take on  
him



him to be my glasse, my diall, or direction? Will hee that is so blacke and ymbrageous, be a glasse; or that is so out of tune be a dial; or that cannot goe right himselfe, direct me? or because he talketh of temperature of pennes, wil he that neuer himselfe knew order of writing, or speaking, nor temperance in liuing, nor could himselfe conteine himselfe, his tongue, his hand, take on him to prescribe a temper to others? He would seeme no. and therefore he sendeth me to *M. Hooker*. But why doeth he then talke and bable himselfe? *M. Hooker* I would willingly heare. but what is *M. Throkmorton*? I trow he wil not compare himselfe to *M. Hooker*. But if he did, why doeth he, sending me ouer to learne of others, take on him to teach me himselfe? Will he now take on him to mount into the chaire, himselfe giuing it ouer to others? He knoweth that *M. Hooker* and I do wel consent, and agree. And therefore fearing least he will say nothing vnto me, taketh on him like a *Rabbine* of discipline to teach me. And what I pray you? forsooth to temper my penne. A goodly matter that such *irregular* persons should take on them to teach, and such ignorant schollers prescribe their masters rules of writing. But heare what this doctrine is. *It is ynough and ynough*, saith he, *in conscience, if not more then ynough, that he hath thus runne himselfe out of breath already*. But what is running to tempering of pennes? notwithstanding to answere him that runneth he knoweth not whither, I say, that if I had runne my selfe out of breath, I must confesse I had runne too much in deede. But how knoweth he that I haue runne my selfe out of breath? I thinke his mates albeit gallant felowes to runne, yet could neuer runne so, but that I did easily ouertake them. Onely if they runne out of the way, I am content they shall runne by themselves for me. I will not follow *M. Throkmortons* lewd courses. To folow to a good ende, he shall perceiue, that I haue by Gods grace, strength and winde sufficient.

He addeth, *vnlesse he should burne a new the temple of Diana, I doe not see, how hee can make himselfe more famous, then he hath done by this new emblazure of his*. But what is this to running? sure euen as much as *Dianaes* temple, to the Consistory. and percase not so much. For the Consistorians doe but make an idole of their discipline, euen like that of *Diana* or *Helena*,  
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which



*An answer vnto*

which who so could ouerthrow, he should doe God good seruice. This idle Temple among others, not for vaine glory, but for the maintenance of trueth and iustice, I haue sought to ouerthrow I confesse. but *M. Throckmorton* and such like firebrands of contention, haue sought to set both Church and common wealth in combustion. These therefore be the burners, and blazers that are to be looked vnto, troublesome burners, and seditious firebrands, and malicious raylers. *M. Throckmorton* talketh of my new emblazure, but he vnderstandeth not his owne ghibrish, as I thinke. Sure, I doe not. Perhaps he meaneth, that I haue blazed his armes, and his felowes and set them out in colours.

But to let that passe, when wil he come to his purpose? It is, saith he, *to some body I trow, that M. Hooker writes*. True. vnlesse himselfe and his consorts be no body. But what writeth he? *He admonisheth men, saith Throckmorton, to lay aside the gall of bitternesse*. True. But who are these men? sure *M. Hooker* meant the authors of the *Admonition*, *T. Cartwright*, *Penry*, and such like. for those are the men with whom he dealt, those he describeth. Me he could not meane, for at that time my Answer to the *Petition* wherein this bitternesse is pretended to bee, was not published. *M. Throckmorton* therefore while he catcheth at this saying of *M. Hookers*, which he would turne vpon me, doeth as men that are in danger of drowning, are wont to doe. they catch at euery bulrush, but they and their bulrush goe both to the bottome of the water. This counsell of *M. Hookers* was bent toward others, and therefore rather hurteth, then helpeth *M. Throckmorton*. False it is, that hee sayeth, *that he specially leuelleth at me*. for his drift is otherwise, and at that time, I had not published any thing that in *M. Throckmortons* iudgement could be reprobued for bitternesse.

But, sayeth he, *if hee can picke mee out but one that is comparable to M. Sutcliffe in that sea of bitternesse, I will yeelde*. Admit I had bene bitter, yet how could he meane that, which he neither knewe nor saw? The trueth is, there is no such gall nor bitternesse in my writings, as is supposed. I doe not beginne, I onely answer: Articles I answer with articles, questions with



with questions. What more equall or gentle course? I meddle with none, but that are common medlers, and such as were brought ouerthwart me. Let indifferent men compare my doings with the Admonitions, with *Th. Cartwrights* replyes, with the *Petition*, and such like, out of whose writings I haue giuen you already some taste, and consider how these reuel at orders, lawes, gouernours, and men that neuer had to deale with them. I doubt not, but as they will condemne them, so they will passe my answer with fauour. Nay I doe not thinke, that any is so impudent, as to allowe *Martins* fireworkes, and such firebrands, as they were that wrote *Some in his colours*, and those *Epistles*, *Supplications*, *Appellations*, *Dialogues*, and declamations, and that contended so hotly for the Consistory, and to condemne my answer to the *Petition*.

Pleaseth you onely to take a taste of *Master Throkmortons* veine, that so much talketh of others bitternesse. They are, sayeth hee, in one place, speaking of the Prelates of England, the <sup>1</sup> *Synagogue of Satan*. Speaking of my Lord Archbishop, he calleth him <sup>2</sup> *Canterbury Cayphas*, *Esau*, a monstrous *Antichristian Pope*, a most bloody oppressour of Gods Saints, a very *Antichristian beast*, a most vile and cursed tyrant. In the beginning of <sup>3</sup> *Martins Interim*, which hee directeth to the whole Cleargie, he calleth all our Ministers *cursed Cleargie*, an *ungodly swarme of caterpillers, dogges, and hirelings, godlesse men, an hellish rable, and incarnate deuils*. and so goeth on rayling after his wonted maner most wickedly and vnchristianly. The Greekes were wont to say, that if *Iupiter* spoke Greeke, hee spoke as *Plato* did; but better we may say, that if the diuel should speake or write, he would speake and write as *Master Throkmorton* hath done. assuredly he could not speake or write more maliciously or hellishly.

If then *Master Throkmorton* be as good as his word, let him come off with his recantation, and passe it vnder his hand and seale. and all litle ynough. For commonly they of that humour litle regard their subscriptions, or oathes. Let him also renounce his factious brotherhood, and submit himselfe to order and law. I see his felowes cannot wel spare such a stout railor, that when

<sup>1</sup> Mart. Sen.  
made by Throk.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>3</sup> A booke by witnesses, and likenesse of stile and diuers other arguments produced to be Job Throkmortons.



*An answer vnto*

reasons faile, yet with clamours vpholdeth the side. They may not forgo such an inuincible Champion, neither do we esteeme or care for his company, being of such qualitie, as he is.

*Beside this, he saith, himselfe is sufficiently perswaded, and that albeit a whole library of bookes were written against the Consistory, yet he would not forsake it, and that I shall neuer be able to winne him nor others to the faith of the Hierarchie.* As if so be any did care for his company or desired it. But were it, he would not yeeld, yet is that nothing, but an argument of his obstinacie, and malice. Obstinacie, for that like as heretickes and schismarickes, that shut their eares to reason, yea like the deafe adder that will heare no charme, he saith in effect, he will neuer yeeld to any thing we say; malice, yea and impudence, for that hee calleth the faith of this Church, the faith of the *Hierarchie*. For albeit *Hierarchie* be a good word, yet our faith is built not on that, but on Christ IESVS, and his word. On the other side they contend more for their Consistory, then for their saluation. therein is their care, therein is their delight. yet is it built on sand, yea on water more weake then sand. Let him therefore be ashamed of his folly, and yeeld to reason, and renounce his scismaticall conceits: if not because they are conceits, yet because he promisseth to passe his recantation vnder his hand and seale, vpon a condition that is performed. If not, let him be assured, that neither his creditours, nor any other will hencefoorth trust him for a groat, and that he is a man, whom we do not value, and would be loth to receiue into our felowship.

In the end of this section seeing that *M. Hooker* hath nothing to say vnto me, he taketh a litle paines to speake to me himselfe: and after no long consideration, he saith, *All which considered.* What then? *I would wish*, saith he, *that M. Sutcliffe would something recall himselfe while he hath time and space, and in remorse of that is past, strike his hand vpon his breast to some blushing and repentance, before the day of his visitation.* And who is it that without blushing giueth this graue admonition? Forsooth *M. Throkemorton*. And what is he? A teacher? No such matter. A pastor? Much lesse. A diuine? Least of all. A Churchalderman? I cannot tell, but I take them to haue neither authoritie, nor grace in giuing counsell. What is he then? Forsooth, it is the  
man



man that was acquainted and prayed with *Hacket*, that was a doer in *Martins* Libels, a common scorner, rayler, and giber at his betters, a man that could neither vse, nor giue good counsell. Why? and will this man take on him a visard of grauitie, and holinesse, and presume without shame to giue aduise? we see he hath done it, and as it seemeth, it repenteth him not. Nay further he telleth vs, that *God<sup>1</sup> abhorreth a proude heart, a lying tongue, and hands swift to shed innocent blood.* either applying y<sup>e</sup> to me, or setting it downe to no purpose. This is indeed soure sauce to his aduise, and is sufficient to marre his counsel. but wel doth it besee me him, that purposed rather to speake euill, then to do well. I pray you therefore tell him from me, that albeit he may take his pleasure to raile on me; yet it is a dangerous matter to play with the wordes of the holy Ghost, and to apply them to euil purposes. Good wordes euill besee me such a prophane mouth; and such as he is, are more fit to sit with scorner on the ale-bench, then on the bench of iudgemēt, to pronounce Gods sentence. Let him therfore meddle with his vocation, if he haue any. his writing and speaking, is not worth a daisie. good counsell is but disgraced by such a person. his friends blush to see his ignorance, and mislike his impudence, that will thrust himselfe into these matters. for mine owne part I repent nothing more, then that good houres must be spent about such a woorthlesse person.

<sup>2</sup> Is this a paterne of his gentle stile?

Concerning my selfe to whom he applieth the conceit of his malice, I will say litle. God knoweth the heart. and as many as know me, will witnesse for my innocencie. and I doubt not, but God will blesse, whom the wicked curseth. God knoweth, no man thinketh more meanelly of himselfe, then I doe. Of lying wherewith he chargeth me, I trust none shall conuince me, and of the rest, the aduersarie must needs cleare me. I would to God these curious felowes would looke into themselues, and call themselues home, and leauing their odious railing and quarelling, liue as becommeth good subiects. which being brought to passe, then would not that bee verified that is commonly sayd, that there is not a more proud, lying, nor malicious generation vnder the sonne, then the factious brotherhood.



## An answer vnto

Throk Morton.

<sup>1</sup> When will he come againe to himselfe?

<sup>2</sup> As if Throk. sought it not. which I rather beleue.

<sup>3</sup> He loadeth our eares with many idle words.

<sup>4</sup> Did he not tell him that he had a blew coate, and a felt hat?

<sup>5</sup> Can you beleue this? I can not, vnlesse he prooue it.

<sup>6</sup> Two good friends parted.

*I come now<sup>1</sup> againe to M. Copinger, who after he had thus written vnto me, and I had thus answered him, as before is set down, found means to<sup>2</sup> steale vpon me once more at my lodging, pressing mee very earnestly to bee acquainted with that man (meaning Hacket) whom hee had before commended so highly vnto mee, redoubling his speeches, <sup>3</sup> loading mee with a newe supply of his prayses, especially of his gift of prayer beyond all that euer he heard. he told mee that hee was now in the towne, and that he would bring me to him if I would. his <sup>4</sup> lodging was not farre from Smithfield. I tolde<sup>5</sup> him I was so troubled, and in a maner oppressed with businesse, that I could not be at any laisure, neither could I appoint him any time, as hee would faine haue had me. well yet, saith he, doe me that fauour, as but heare him pray once, before you goe out of the towne. I cannot certainly promise you that neither, sayd I. but if I be at any leisure, and may conueniently, I will. and so<sup>6</sup> we parted.*

*Matth. Sutcliffe.*

*M. Throk Morton* in his idle fanſie hauing ſpoken much ouer, and beſide the purpoſe, as a man awaked out of a trance, doeth now returne to his old friends *Hacket* and *Copinger*, whoſe memorie is not dead with him. He telleth vs of a new aſſault made vpon him, and of his owne great prowefſe in reſiſting the ſame. But who will beleue, or hath reaſon to beleue, that *M. Throk Morton* who writeth ſo friendly to *Copinger*, and receiueth ſuch kind letters from him, was ſo hard to bee entreated to bee acquainted with *Hacket*? is it like that he ſhould not goe with his <sup>7</sup> owne deare brother, or that he ſhould be ſo vnciuill, as to ſhake him off in that ſort? that a man deſirous of innouation, zealous for the preſbyteriall cauſe, ſhould not deſire to know him, in whom the hope of the erection of it conſiſted? iudge therefore how this hangeth with other his proceedings, and whether this be not partly idle talke caſt forth vainly to cary men from the view of the trueth; & partly contrary to his own letters, wherein he ſaith he would not reſuſe *Copingers* godly conference, and inſinuateth he would ſee *Hacket*.

<sup>7</sup> So he reioiceth to be called.

Throk Morton



Throkmorton.

But here<sup>1</sup> by the way, I had like to haue forgotten that which of all others is most woorthy the remembrance; namely, his discourse of the first greeting and meeting betwixt him and this newe<sup>2</sup> saint of his. which to my remembrance was thus: that he<sup>3</sup> hearing of the vnfeined conuerſion of the man, with the ſimplicities of his heart, and the rare gifts that God had lent him, being a man vnlearned, did write him a letter to come vp: which Hacket accomplished accordingly. As ſoone as they met, after ſome ſalutations, Copinger ſignified vnto him what reuelations he had had of late, how the Lorde had ſundry times appeared vnto him from heauen; but hee could get<sup>4</sup> no man here-about to beleue him, that there was any ſuch thing in trueth, but that all was a meere illuſion of Satan. No (ſaith Hacket) will they not beleue it? but I will beleue it, & wil prooue it to them, for I my ſelfe haue had reuelations, and ſtrange reuelations too. Whereupon I remember maſter Copinger glanced a little at maſter<sup>5</sup> Egerton, and maſter Cartwright, that they would by no meanes bee perſwaded of the trueth of theſe things, whereas this ſimple man did at the firſt both conceiue of it, giue credite to it, and was readie by his owne experience to iuſtifie it. and this verifies, ſaith he, that which I told you before, that the Lord will not haue this worke brought to paſſe by any other, then by the ſimpleſt and weakeſt.

And then he<sup>6</sup> told me how that vpon theſe ſpeeches of Hacket, he burning in deſire to know what thoſe reuelations of his were, preſſed him very earneſtly to tell him. But Hacket ſeeing him ſo ſharpe ſet, to giue him as it were, the keener edge, and the greater longing did purpoſely as it ſhould ſeeme) keepe him faſting, and held of telling him, that there was a time for all things. he had not now long to ſtay in the towne, but he ſhould know more ſhortly, for the preſent let this ſuffice him, that there were many ſtrange practiſes and<sup>7</sup> wonderfull treaſons a brewing againſt the Queene.

M. Sutcliffe.

If nothing els, yet this inconstant leaping backe and forth, and this doubling, and turning of matters, is argument ſufficient, to prooue that this defendan<sup>t</sup> hath a guiltie conſcience. no man

<sup>1</sup> When cometh he into the way?

<sup>2</sup> Doeth the conſiſtorie canonize ſaints?

<sup>3</sup> He will not be ſacknowen that Wigg. brought them two firſt acquainted.

<sup>4</sup> Did not Wigg. beleue him?

<sup>5</sup> They would not take notice of his ſeditious courſe for feare of danger. otherwiſe of extraordinary proceedings in matter of diſcipline they liked wel enough.

<sup>6</sup> Was not the defendan<sup>t</sup> at laſure thinke you, when he brought ſo many words that make nothing for his defence?

<sup>7</sup> Why did not Throk. take a courſe to haue them knowne?



*An answer vnto*

man sure, that were not troubled in mind, or possessed with some wandring spirite, would thus falter and stumble, & leape foorth and backe in his tale. Here he sheweth that *Copinger* wrote vnto *Hacket* into the countrey, not vpon any acquaintance he had with him, but only because he had heard report of his rare gifts. a matter vnttrue, and very vnlikely. The vntrueth appeareth, for that *Copinger* is sayd to come acquainted with *Hacket* in Easter terme, before this letter written, that is here mentioned, & that by *Wiggintons* meanes: the vnlikelyhood in this, that men vse not to write of such matters, as *Copinger* mentioned, to men vnknownen. but were this report of *Hackets* and *Copingers* conference true, yet maketh it nothing to the purpose. for howsoeuer they two came acquainted first, yet if *Throk Morton* did afterward ioyne in consort with them; then is not this his defence of any force to cleare him. And in deede, to say trueth, I thinke it tendeth rather to cleare master *Cartwright* and master *Egerton* the defendant. for that master *Throk Morton* did dislike these reuelations here mentioned, there is nothing spoken: that master *Egerton* and master *Cartwright* did not well like them, hee doeth vnder-hand insinuate. but neither is that to the purpose, nor is it very probable, as may appeare by that which hath bene sayd, and shall then appeare more clearly, when the legend of master *Cartwrights* myracles, which passeth they say from hand to hand, and is much esteemed among the brethren, shal come foorth. that condemnation and censure which they gaue of *Copingers* reuelations was so sleight and gentle, that it doeth little helpe them. In the meane while, what are wee to thinke of *M. Throk Morton*, that hearing a sound of strange treasons, did notwithstanding keepe the matter secret, and said nothing?

*M. Throk Morton.*

<sup>1</sup>What will this  
riser conclude  
of all this?

*Hereupon it was, that<sup>1</sup> Copinger after Hacket was gone downe into the countrey, wrote those same letters, that I before mentioned; to wit, vnto her maiestie, the Countesse of Warwike, & my lord Treasurer, from whom hauing receiued that answer, that I haue here set downe, namely, that hee should bring with him some grounded matter to worke vpon, he writes mee againe in all post haste to his new prophet, willing him to come vp with all possible speed: for he had*  
*broken*



broken the ice forsooth, that now was the time or neuer. wherenpon Hacket came up, and was by his meanes (as he told me) brought before my lord Treasurer, in whose presence hee so behaued himselfe, falling flat on his face groueling, groning and foming at the mouth, that my lord seeing him, should say: what, hath Copinger brought me a mad man here? My lord,<sup>1</sup> sayd he, thought he had bene mad, whereas he no doubt was inwardly<sup>2</sup> rauished in soule, and rapt up in to the third heauen, as Paul was; whereat smiling with my selfe, I asked him what became in the meane season of all those great treasons and practises, that were thus extraordinarily reuealed vnto Hacket, and hee vpon Hackets worde, had thus ventured to make knowne to those great personages. I looked (sayde I) that vpon this appearance before my lord Treasurer, wee should haue heard newes of them. He told me, that if they could haue obtained that they hoped for; namely, a warrant and commission to search and bolt out the trueth of things, we should haue heard more ere this; being perswaded in his soule, that it would haue fallen out, to haue bene one of the best seruices that euer was undertaken for the land. wherenpon when I told him that it seemed strange vnto mee, that a man should take in hand to<sup>3</sup> waken the eares of great counsellors, with I know not what noyse of complots and conspiracies first, and then to sue for a commission to enquire afterwards: he choked me streight with his<sup>4</sup> olde common place of extraordinarie, extraordinarie, telling mee that we were<sup>5</sup> not to draw precedents of those things whereof there was no rule. whereunto I replied, that though their supposed reuelations were (as they sayde) extraordinarie, yet the commission to enquire, which they so faine would haue had, was ordinarie. and therefore I mused, that such extraordinarie men as they, would sue to such common, and ordinarie helpes. well (saith hee) it may be you shall heare more when the time comes. and so he<sup>6</sup> departed.

Matth. Sutcliffe.

All this is nothing, but friuolous and idle talke, making iust nothing for the clearing or defence of Job Throkmorton: nay rather the same doeth breed more suspicion of some secret intelligence betwixt him and the conspirators. for if after all this foolish behavior and vaine talke, he did notwithstanding make reckoning of Copinger; I know not what might make him in

R

dislike

<sup>1</sup> Is it like, that he that declared all his fooleries, would conceale from Throk. any of his glorious practises?

<sup>2</sup> Many of this sect imagine themselves to be rauished in spirit, when in trueth they raue as mad men.

<sup>3</sup> Doe men vse to sleepe onely with their eares?

<sup>4</sup> It is an vsuall common place, or rather common hole for the disciplinarians to hide themselves in.

<sup>5</sup> Then is there no precedent to be drawn from the consistorie, being neither in good rule nor space.

<sup>6</sup> Farewell.



dislike with him. and if he knew the secrets that are here mentioned; no doubt hee knew even the bottome of their hearts. In deed I will not deny, but that there was a matter concerning the ouerthrow of the clergie, and erection of the consistorie, which *Throk Morton* would not know too plainly: which the more that he goeth about to hide, the more it breaketh forth, and sheweth it selfe.

Further, in relating of these matters, he doeth plainly contradict himselfe. for where before speaking of matters passed in *Hillarie* terme, or not much before *Easter* terme, he saith; *that when Copinger wrote letters to my lord Treasurer, whereof he saw the copies; now he telleth vs, that these letters were not written vntill Easter terme well neere passed.*

Here is also a very pretie new phrase of wakening mens eares. perhaps *M. Throk* doeth sleep with his eares. but if some should haue libelled, and abused mens eares and patience, as hee hath done; they might haue slept in deed without eares. how would then their eares haue bene wakened?

*Throk Morton.*

<sup>1</sup> After whispering and muttering, ensueth often mutinie and rebellion.

<sup>2</sup> How should we know that this talke only passed betwixt these two?

<sup>3</sup> *Dicitur quasi lunacie.* we say commonly, importunitie.

<sup>4</sup> Is it no prayse to be acquainted with such hote brained disciplinarians?

<sup>5</sup> If we may beleue him on his word.

<sup>6</sup> Men with puffed & swelling faces, and gogled eyes, are not for all this to be excommunicate by the consistorie.

*After this hauing bene to seeke D. Chippingdale, Copinger meetes me by chaunce in Pauls chaine, and taking me by the arme, <sup>1</sup> whispered me in the eare, telling me that the man he spake to me of, was now hard by, remooued from his olde lodging into Knight-rider streete. I <sup>2</sup> told him I had much businesse. he sayd, I should not stay, but onely see the man and iudge of his gift in prayer, if I would, which he knew I would admire. Vpon his <sup>3</sup> importunacie (I speake it not Madame, in any <sup>4</sup> great praise of my self, because hauing such warning as I had, I might haue bin better aduised) yet thinking it strange that a man not able to read, should haue such an extraordinarie gift as hee spake of (though vpon the former taste of master Copingers poore iudgement, I did partly feare before hand, what I should find) I went, I confesse, with him. and this <sup>5</sup> was the first and last time, that euer I sawe Hacket in my life. and to speake trueth, this very once was enough to disaste any man of neuer so meane iudgement, I beleue, unlesse he were bewitched: because the very <sup>6</sup> puffing and swelling of his face, the staring and gogling of his eyes, with his ghastly countenance, did, me thought sufficiently decipher out vnto me what was in the*



*the man, at the first sight. And here also at this time I found Arthington, whom to my remembrance I neuer<sup>1</sup> sawe above once before in my life. but conference I neuer had any with him, as he himselfe best knowes, who is yet living to witnesse, whether I lie or no. When I was come vnto the chamber, Copinger told Hacket, that the<sup>2</sup> gentleman could not stay, and therefore desired him he might be<sup>3</sup> partaker of his prayer.*

*M. Sutcliffe.*

Mee thinketh that the euill presage of meeting Copinger at Pauls chaine, might haue warned master Throkmorton to take heed how he delt any further with Hacket and him, least they should all meete in Newgate chaines for their labour. but all would not serue, goe he would, and needs must he see the prophet of discipline. In the ende he sawe the man, whom he describeth to haue a puffing and swelling face, a ghastly countenance, and staring and gogling eies. percase he was distempered with a rheume of indigested discipline. hee sawe also *Arthington* in the place, as it were, by appointment for the ripe deliberation of all matters that might fall out. *Throkmor.* saith, he went to him to pray with him. but who would imagine that a wise man would vpon a sudden leaue all his businesse to heare a stranger, with whom he was not acquainted to pray? may we imagine that *Throk.* went thither for nothing els? or is it probable that *Throk.* neuer saw *Hacket* but once? or that there passed no other speach then is here set downe? I wil not for once deny it. but assuredly, there is no probabilitie in it. This is therefore here to be noted, that whatsoever is here set downe, either maketh nothing for *Throk.* or against him. if any thing seeme to make for him, it is by no good argument prooued; and therefore needlesse it is to stand vpon it any longer.

*Throkmorton.*

*Whereupon Hacket clapping to the dore fel without any more ado to his prayer, euen (for all the world) as a man should haue fallen to his<sup>4</sup> sword & buckler. but if I shall not lie vnto you Madame, such a piece of prayers did no man lining, I thinke, euer heare. it<sup>5</sup> was much like the wilde goose chase, neither head nor foote, rime nor reason. In steade of desiring God to bee present with vs, hee desired him to bee absent from vs. and so for any thing I knowe, hee was,*

R 2

*unlesse*

<sup>1</sup> It is sufficient if he were acquainted with Hackers and Arthingtons practises, albeit he had neuer seene them.

<sup>2</sup> That is, M. Iob Throk. a good old gentleman, & well learned.

<sup>3</sup> As he was of his practise.

<sup>4</sup> What agreement betwixt swords & bucklers and prayers? mind disciplinarians to pray with swords and bucklers?

<sup>5</sup> A very proper description of the disciplinarian sects extemporall prayers and deuotion.



unlesse it were in his hand of iudgement to punish vs. for concerning any blessing to befall vs, sure I am, hee was not present with vs at that time. Many strange pauses hee had in his prayer, and that a pretie while together, saying nothing, but onely groned and <sup>1</sup> murmured to himselfe, and then hee would suddenly burst out into some passionate outcrie and exclamation against those wicked <sup>2</sup> Hamans, and traitors to God and the Queene. for that was a great <sup>3</sup> word with him. as to his maner and gesture, it was, me thought, full as strange, as the prayer it selfe, speaking sometimes in a kinde of lowe and base voyce, and sometimes againe in so high a voyce, that I thinke he might easily haue bene heard into the streetes: yet were the most of his wordes vitered with much earnestnesse and feruencie, with puffings and beatings in a kind of <sup>4</sup> snatching maner, as if he had bene halfe windlesse, and out of breath. and howsoeuer other men iudge of him, I must confesse I haue lined to see him a kind of prophet indeed, in the right successe and euent that his prayer had. for as execrations and imprecations were vsuall with him, so I remember this <sup>5</sup> sweete sentence among the rest, O Lord thou knowest, thou hast reuealed sundry things vnto me, which thou hast kept backe from the mightie ones of the world, and if this be not true, then let thy vengeance and <sup>6</sup> visible confusion fall vpon me. This I say, I expresly noted, & hauing lined to see that I haue done, namely, such a sensible hand of God vpon him, in giuing him ouer to end his daies in that most shamefull and desperate maner, as he did, with so many horrible blasphemies without repentance; who can deny but that Hacker was a right reader of destinies, and concerning himselfe, a prophet? while hee was in his prayer, Copinger & Arthington did bestow the most of the time in a strange kind of <sup>7</sup> sighing, humming and groning, and that many times very loud. When his prayer was done, which to mee was a great deale too long, unlesse it had bene more sauourie (& to <sup>8</sup> tell you the very trueth madame,) I sate me thought vpon thornes, and was not quiet in my selfe, till I was out of the chamber, fearing when I heard him thunder and curse in that maner, least the floore should haue fallen on our heads. I told them I had hastie busnesse, & so tooke my leane, and <sup>9</sup> glad in my heart that I was gone.

M. Sutcliffe.

The spirit of God doeth in diuers places of scriptures exhort, and stirre vs vp to praier. & yet better it were not to pray, then as some

<sup>1</sup> For mumbled.

<sup>2</sup> Did not Throk. vnderstand what Hacker ment by these words?

<sup>3</sup> A word as big as a sentence.

<sup>4</sup> An vsual maner among this sect, that in praying and purueying, vse snatching.

<sup>5</sup> Doe you make iestes of such execrations?

<sup>6</sup> A phrase vsed in Martins interin.

<sup>7</sup> Such is the behaviour of the disciplinarian auditors.

<sup>8</sup> Many protestations of trueth, litle performance.

<sup>9</sup> The Reader is likewise glad, he is almost at the end of this tedious tale.



some do without signe of humilitie, deuotion, or religious reuerence, yea without premeditation, order, or grauitie, to powre foorth sounding words. For God doth rather punish such men for their prophane contempt, and sencelesse præsumption, then graunt their petitions. Therefore doeth <sup>1</sup> Christ will his disciples to watch and pray; and the <sup>2</sup> Apostle alloweth no prayers, <sup>3</sup> Matth. 26. <sup>4</sup> 1. Cor. 14. but such as are conceiued by the spirit, and vttered with the vnderstanding, commending vnto Christians those ceremonies in prayers, that may best testifie their grauitie, and enflame their deuotion. The Prophet Dauid doeth cal prayers <sup>5</sup> meditations, <sup>6</sup> Psal. 63. & 77. and <sup>7</sup> Isack when he prayed, is said to meditate, to teach vs that <sup>8</sup> Genes. 24. prayers ought not to be rash, nor suddein, nor presumptuous. All which notwithstanding, there haue bene heretickes in time past, that for their frequent babling were called *Messaliani*, or *Euchetai*, which <sup>9</sup> imagined they should be heard the rather for <sup>10</sup> Epiphan. & Angustin. de heresib. their continuall praying: which is also the errour of certaine superstitious Papists. And among vs there is a sort of seditious and schismaticall fellowes, that are very presumptuous in this behalfe. Sometimes lay men and women vpon very small occasions, yea vpon no occasion will take vpon them suddenly to powre forth their disorderly prayers; and diuers fantastike preachers there are, that as they allow them, so can not well like of any præscript forme of prayer. therefore doe they take vpon them to make extemporall prayers, most pitifull and vnlike to Christian prayers; for order, confused, for sence, absurd; for their needlesse repetitions, vaine; for their great outcries, ridiculous; for the multitude of words, very tedious. prayers certes without deuotion, good reason or grauitie. Yea sometimes they enterlard imprecations, and inuectiues, scarce knowing the difference betwixt Christian praying, and bitter cursing. And yet these extemporall prayers <sup>11</sup> Tho. Cartwright commendeth most <sup>12</sup> Tho. Carwr. reply. highly, as being vttered by the holy Ghostes secret inspiration, and scarce could he be induced when the time was, to like of a præscript forme of prayer.

*M. Throkmorton* notwithstanding now seemeth to be of another minde. Note I pray you his censure vpon *Hackets* prayer. he saith, *it was like the wilde-goose chase, and without either rime or reason; and that he fell into it rashly and rudely, euen as if a man*



*An answer vnto*

should fall to his sword and buckler. He saith, that he made many exclamations, and now prayed in a low voyce, then in a lowde voyce, that hee used much earnestnesse, and prayed so fast, that hee was sometimes windelesse. He saith, that in the meane while Copinger and Arthington did nothing but humme and groane. These things being well marked in Hackets prayer, consider I pray you in the conuenticles of Puritans, if you see not the like disorder, like outcries, zeale without reason, like humming, like sighing and groaning. And if you see it, then remember the prophet Hacket, and all his hypocrisie, and what they are, that so iustly tread in his steps; and finally what reason men haue to leaue the deuout prayers of the Church, to follow the new formes and extrauagant fantasies of schismaticall persons. And you of the deformed and conceited sort, marke whome you imitate, and consider how grieuously you offend in forsaking the communion of the Saints, to runne after such brainelesse guides. Certainly, if such a fashion of prayer bee absurd in Hacket, euen by Throkmorton his owne report; it cannot be sanctified, I thinke, albeit Giles Wigginton or M. Throkmorton prayed so themselves.

Throkmorton.

Remember Hackets last woordes to mee at my farewell were these, I should heare more shortly. and so in deede I did. For the next newes I heard was, that they were vp in a cart in Chepeside, and so were apprehended, and their great<sup>1</sup> Mahomet brought to that ende, as all men knowe, and he best deserved. Now when I was come my way from hearing this man of the rare gift, Master Copinger followed mee, and bringing mee a little along the streete, hee iogged mee on the elbow, and<sup>2</sup> asked mee in mine eare, what I thought of the mans gift, and whether hee were not an excellent fellowe. I tolde him, I mused what should mooue him to thinke so, because I sawe na order at all in his prayer, but a meere confused heape of wordes without sappe. And then I<sup>3</sup> beganne to enter in to some particulars with him, as what should bee the reason, or howe it might be iustified, that a man should dare to offer vp his prayers vnto God without any acknowledgement of his sinne and unworthinesse, as at that time Hacket neuer did, neither in generall, nor in particular.

■ Yet this Mahometts errors were especially concerning Discipline, and his education in the Consistoriall Kingdome.

<sup>2</sup> May we beleue that these two talked of nothing, but that which is here set downe?

<sup>3</sup> Tractent fabrilis fabri.



lar. Againe, I asked him what warrant any man had to vse any of those imprecations, and bitter cursings of himselfe in his prayer, whereof there was neither rule nor warrant in the whole Scripture of God.

Unto all which his answer was still one and the same, not unlike to the rest of his resolutions. Oh, sayeth hee, you must consider it is extraordinary, extraordinary. And I am verily perswaded, Master Throkmorton, that as Iohn Baptist was the fore-runner of our Sauour in the flesh: so this man is the very forerunner of our Sauour to Iudgement.

At which wordes of his I confesse I was something <sup>1</sup> amazed, and looking upon him (remembring Master Cartwrights former speeches vnto mee) could not but <sup>2</sup> pitie the man, with this resolution neuer to come at him againe, nor any of his <sup>3</sup> confederates (if I could auoyde them) while I <sup>4</sup> liued. And thus parted Master Copinger and I, being the last time that euer I saw him. Who as farre as I coniecture, returned backe againe at that very instant to Hacket, because I saw him bend that way.

<sup>1</sup> Yet when this sect teacheth that Elders iudge in Christes stead, hee neither museth nor is amazed at the strangenesse of it.

<sup>2</sup> Why? because he was a litle crazed? Who then will not pitie M. Throkmorton, that dealt with such amazed persons?

<sup>3</sup> Did you know the confederacie? why did you then deny it?

<sup>4</sup> Proue that.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

As men doe vse to commit to memory the last wordes of their departing friendes; so Master Throkmorton cannot forget his olde friend Hackets last farewell, as it were, and benediction. Of which, if he had not looked for some strange issue for the exaltation of the holy Discipline, he would neuer haue conceiled, nor suppressed the matter. That they talked of some dangerous practise, it appeareth by Hackets wordes. For of a bare prayer, what strange issue could be expected? Now that his friend Hacket the onely hope and expectation of the Consistory is hanged, and that his deare brother Copinger the prophet famished himselfe; Master Throkmorton would wipe his handes, and discharge himselfe vpon them two. And therefore doeth hee leaue the two prophetes in the handes of Iustice, and calleth Hacket, Mahomet. but all this will not serue his turne. For with this Mahomet hee conferred, with him hee prayed, with him (no doubt,) hee practised, and layed  
a dan-



a dangerous complot. Hee would make men beleue that he went in onely to heare *Hacket* pray, because he was reported to haue a rare gift that way. But it is not the order of wise men to rush into prayer vpon a sudden, neither to pray priuately with men which they know not, especially to a purpose vnknewen. Neither was *Throk Morton* so simple to goe out of his way, and and leaue al his businesse for to heare a man pray, nor if he were innocent, may we thinke, but that some of these conspirators, if not all, broke with him concerning their treasonable purposes. Yea *Hackets* prayer being against certaine which he called *Hammans* and traitours, declareth, that both prayer and practise tended to one ende, which *Throk Morton* could not be ignorant of, being made acquainted with the prayer, and vnderstanding their confederacie. *Copinger* also declared vnto him something concerning *Hackets* office; which now he cannot put off by saying, that he was amazed at his wordes, or that he pitied the man, or tooke him to be a mazed creature. for then had he bene no lesse amazed or madde to folow him, or deale with him.

Of all this he can make no more, then that he misliked *Hacket* and *Copinger*. all which maketh litle for him. For what if he did not thinke them so secret to ioyne with them, might hee not well like of their purpose? How then if he did like them, and held inward intelligence with them? This is apparent, for that before their death, no man liuing is able to say, that *Throk Morton* misliked *Hackets* course. And now that he must needs say, he misliked him to discharge himselfe, who wil beleue him on his owne word, that speaketh for his owne discharge?

*Throk Morton.*

Not long after this, I<sup>1</sup> went to Enfeld to visit my cousin Middlemore, that then was very<sup>2</sup> ill, vnto whome I reported at large the trueth of the whole, as I haue here set downe, and how at M. *Copingers* earnest entreatie I heard *Hacket* pray, and of the maner of his prayer, &c. and I remember his wordes, and<sup>3</sup> shall doe while I liue; to wit, that he feared he would come to some ill ende, which he gathered by those bitter cursings, and execrations that were so vsual with him.

Now when I<sup>4</sup> came backe againe to London, I found this short letter

<sup>1</sup> To couey himselfe out of the way when the stir should begin.

<sup>2</sup> No maruel for this tedious tale is sufficient to make any man euil at ease.

<sup>3</sup> As if his words were so strange and memorable.

<sup>4</sup> After *Copinger* mines vented.



letter at my lodging, which M. Copinger wrote unto mee from Knightsrider streete, and which M. Sutcliffe, I<sup>1</sup> thanke him, hath taken paines to<sup>2</sup> print, & reprint, to<sup>3</sup> wit, that much hath bene done since they saw me, which I would reioyce to heare of. that they desire conference with me, that the businesse is the Lords own, that some of the enemies of God began to be hotly pursued by Sathan, &c. For so it was in my letter, though in their printed copy it be pursued by God, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Much good may it doe you.  
<sup>2</sup> I neuer printed it but once.  
<sup>3</sup> Many to wit, little wit.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

If *M. Throkmorton* did not præsume, that his Lady to whom he wrote was at laisure, he would not haue thrust so many friuolous and idle discourses of his cousin *Middlemore*, *M. Cartwright*, *M. Egerton* and others, into her letter, the same especially making the matter rather worse then better. That he citeth none but *M. Middlemore* that dead is, & speaketh nothing, to proue his opinion of *Copinger* to be true, maketh men to suspect that he dealt further with him, then he will be acknowen of. for if the witnesse were aliue to testifie, he might be conuincd. Besides that, if hee had not suspected or knowen that these men would haue raised some stirre, why did he cōuey himselfe euen at that instant from the Citie? was it not because hee would cleare himselfe of the matter, if matters succeeded not, and bene at hand if any good might haue bene done? Do men that come to *London* vpon businesse leaue their causes, and gad into the countrey on sporting? *M. Throkmorton* wil not say it. therefore he hath deuised this excuse, that *M. Middlemore* was euill at ease, and that he went to *Enfeld* to see him. But who wil beleeue this, considering that he left all his businesse to goe and pray with *Hacker*? and that may be prooued by a letter written by *Copinger* to *Throkmorton*, and left at his lodging in his absence. Whereby it appeareth that *Copinger* greatly wanted his counsell, and did communicate with him the hope of his good successe.

When I came backe againe, saith he, to *London*, going backe and forth in his letter like a proper gentleman, riding betweene *Enfeld* and *London*. But what when he came backe to *London*? forsooth he found there a letter written to him from *Copinger*.

S

Then



*An answer vnto*

Then is it true that I say, that Copinger knowing howe much it would please him to vnderstand of the proceeding of the holy cause, did write to him. Nay in that letter it appeareth, that Throckmorton would reioyce to heare how matters went forward. Neither can it be prooued, that Throckmorton did disclose any of their practises, or letters, either before, or after. The letter is now printed, and will testifie as much as I say; so that I marueile, why hee should thanke me for printing of it. for as many points therein conteined make against him; so there is nothing that maketh for him; as shall appeare by that which followeth.

Throckmorton.

*That I receiued such a letter, I<sup>1</sup> deny not. but you must vnderstand, Madame, that they<sup>2</sup> had bene preaching in the cart, and were apprehended before this letter came to my handes. But what could I<sup>3</sup> do withall, if M. Copinger did thus write vnto me? It is wel known, that he did write letters to other maner of men, then I. I confesse he did wonderfully seeke me, and labour to haue drawen me to the bent of his bow. And albeit I may<sup>4</sup> truly say, that his vnsensible perswasions, had neuer any taste or relish in my breast, neither did I euer feelee so much as any inclination to be drawen away by him, yet doe I not, nor dare I not attribute the least part of this resistance to mine owne strength, because the Lord might iustly haue giuen mee ouer to a weaker assault then this, if it had pleased him. But what will M. Sutcliffe make of this? Copinger wrote vnto me twice or thrise. True, I deny it not, and good leaue haue hee to make his aduantage of it. Let him hardly presse it and streine it to the vttermost, it shall not offend me. What then? why then for sooth he<sup>5</sup> concludeth that Throckmorton is not onely an accessory, and a concealour if their treacherous practises, but also a principall actour in the pagent, and deeply guiltie of the conspiracie. This halting consequent I leaue to be refuted by M. Sutcliffe himselfe, when he is<sup>6</sup> sober, and not all out so distempered, as it may be he was, when he wrote the booke. He knowes well ynough, it were great pitie, that all they that<sup>7</sup> wrote and receiued letters from Copinger, or had any conference with him, or any view of Hacker, should foolishly be reputed traytours, and conspirators for that.*

<sup>1</sup> He confesseth he receiued a letter containing treacherous matter.

<sup>2</sup> What then? doth not the letter testifie that he was acquainted with the practise notwithstanding?

<sup>3</sup> To receiue letters from Copinger was no great matter, but to receiue such letters, as testifie him to be acquainted with all their practise, was no small presumption against him.

<sup>4</sup> His owne words, and Copingers letters, and all his proceedings testifie the contrary.

<sup>5</sup> I conclude not: neither doeth my question touch him in this sort.

<sup>6</sup> Let vs yet haue good words.

<sup>7</sup> Not all that wrote, or receiued letters from Copinger are

blamed, but such onely as were his consorts, and reioyced in his successe, and knew his lewd practises, which was Throckmortons case, and not theirs, that he meaneth.

M. Sutcliffe.



*M. Sutcliffe.*

So soone as *Throkmarton* vnderstood that *Copingers* deuises and mines were vented, & had wrought no such effect, as was expected; backed doeth he returne to *London*. for what should he do any longer in the countrey, then to stay the euent of these matters? *Penry* that lay at this time about *London* to see the successe of this enterprise, likewise prouided for himselfe. How sad and heauy cheare the whole brotherhood made, it is rather to be imagined, then declared. In this discomfort he receiued *Copingers* letters requiring counsel, and aduertising him of his proceeding in the enterprise, but somewhat too late. for his friends were apprehended, and all the ginnes and traps that were layd for others discouered, & broken. The receipt of this letter of *Cop.* he denieth not, but defendeth himself by y<sup>e</sup> example of others, who receiued letters frō him also. But the case is vnlike. priuate men are not to hide matters of treason, as Magistrates may. these do it to disclose more matter, they to suppress and conceale matters. Beside this, the letters written to *Throkmorton* were of another nature, then those written to my Lord Treasurer. In them appeared that *Throkmorton* was their consort, and special aide, and desirous to know of their successe: in these there is no such matter. Neither doeth any man suspect *Throkmorton* for receiuing letters, but for receiuing treacherous letters, and suppressing them.

He confesseth further that he was earnestly dealt withall by *Copinger*. To what ende? forsooth to yeeld to his perswasions. But what were those perswasions, *Throkmorton* dare not tell vs. by suppressing them you may vnderstand they were to no good end. for then *M. Throkmorton* would haue declared them, and *Copinger* would not haue come to that infamous end he did. before he told vs that *Copinger* dealt with him to the end he might draw him to beleue his extraordinary reuelations. But these earnest perswasions must needs be to some other end. If we may beleue *Throkmorton*, he did valiantly surmount *Copingers* perswasions, & temptations, but the tenor of his own letters, the familiarity with *Copinger*, the sorow conceiued for the practise dissolved, the suppressing of *Copingers* treasonable letters declare the contrary. And yet still doeth he vrge me and aske of



*An answer vnto*

me, *What I can make of this.* What I haue made you see; What your selfe cannot chuse but make; I imagine: What Iudges will make of it, yet it is vncertaine. Nothing sure can be made of it, but that which maketh much against *Throkorton*.

He saith, that I conclude, that *Throkorton* is not onely an accessory, and a concealer of their treacherous practises, but also a principall actor in the pagent, and deeply guiltie of the conspiracie. I will not say what may be concluded of it, nor what some haue concluded, nor what himselfe here concludeth. But he saith vntueth, where he chargeth me to haue cōcluded, as he reporteth. I do not so much as aske the question, whether *Throkorton* were a principall actor in *Hackets* pagent, nor demaund, whether he was deeply guiltie of the cōspiracie. And if I had asked any such matter of him, yet it is one thing to aske a question, another thing to conclude a man guiltie. Why doeth he then charge me with vntueth? Forsooth, to mooue his Lady to commiseration and pitie, he must expresse his cause with tragicall termes; great pitie that his Lady had such dry eyes seeing him thus distressed. I doe confesse in deede, that I did aske a question, *Whether Iob Throkorton* were not accessory to *Hackets* conspiracie, & a principall man in encouraging the actors thereof. And great reason had I to aske the question. I saw his owne letters, I read *Copingers* letters, I did vnderstand of their secret conferences and meetings, all which did declare that he was one of the partie, and greatly interested in the cause. And if this question be a conclusion, then let the man be concluded to be as he is. and I doubt not but his owne wordes will manifest the same. He talketh of a halting consequent, but that question which I made, whatsoever consequent may be inferred thereof, is direct and plaine, and standeth vp right, for any thing that he can say against it. For albeit not euery one that euer saw *Hacket*, or receiued letters from *Copinger* is to be taken as guilty, yet I know none that prayed and conferred with *Hacket* and *Copinger*, and receiued letters of that qualitie, that did *Throkorton*, or that was so comforted with them; that can excuse himselfe of that practise. Hath he not then well said, that hath concluded himselfe to be an accessory of *Hacket*, and an actor in the pagent? See, what it is to haue a good naturall wit.

*Throkorton.*



Throkmorton,

For the rest, I would M. Sutcliffe knew, that I<sup>1</sup> hold it not onely lawfull, but euen my bounden dutie to reueale any practise or treason intended against my soueraigne; and that of conscience, if there were no law to binde me to it, but<sup>2</sup> the law of God. of which sinne, I hope, I may without offence plead guiltlesse, not onely before men, but (for any thing I<sup>3</sup> know) before the tribunal seate of Christ. And if<sup>4</sup> probable collections be in the eyes of indifferent iudges of as great force for a mans clearing and defence, as they are for a mans guiltinesse & condemnation, then mine<sup>5</sup> innocencie I hope (though it bee neuer so much shot at by the dartes of<sup>6</sup> enuenomed mouthes) shall yet by Gods assistance, escape vntouched, and vblemished in the end.

If<sup>7</sup> any man should demaund, saith<sup>8</sup> Arthington, why I did not discouer Hackets intended villanous practises against the Queene and the state, seeing he was knowen to be a forcerer, and condemned for high treason against her maiestie; truly as I meane to be saued at the last day, both these matters were<sup>9</sup> vnknown to me so long as he liued, and to master Copinger too, as I thinke. neither was I euer any further acquainted with any visions or speeches touching these matters, then as before in substance is declared, &c. therefore as on the one side I should deeply offend the maiestie of God, if I should conceale any danger intended against her maiestie, falling within the compasse of my knowledge) so should I displease the Lord on the other side, by<sup>10</sup> speaking more then a trueth of any; yea, were it of the deuill himselfe, protesting thus much in the presence of God, that if I were priuie to one euill word spoken against her Maiestie, &c.

This booke of Arthingtons, madame, hath we see, the<sup>11</sup> allowance and approbation of the state. and if he that was one of the<sup>12</sup> three, naming himselfe the prophet of iudgement, so many times conuersant with Hacket, as well in prayer, as in conference, bee thus publikely<sup>13</sup> cleared by his protestation, and that taken and accepted of for payment, it geth hard me thinks, that another man that neuer saw Hacket but once in his life, that wrote and laboured to M. Copinger to<sup>14</sup> desist, as one altogether distasted with his courses, should not haue the same libertie to<sup>15</sup> pawne his protestation for his defence.

If then M. Sutcliffe, or any of his humour doe aske of I. Throk.

<sup>1</sup> A great matter, as if it were not so, vnlesse he held it.

<sup>2</sup> Doe no lawes of men bind in conscience?

<sup>3</sup> Why should not himselfe know?

<sup>4</sup> He wanteth such to cleare him.

<sup>5</sup> Stand not too much vpon it.

<sup>6</sup> Purge your self, and then accuse others.

<sup>7</sup> How hangeth this on the former sentence.

<sup>8</sup> A worthy witness.

<sup>9</sup> He knew Hackets matters, but percase supposed them not to be treason.

<sup>10</sup> Loth he is to hurt Hacket or his fellow, or the cause of discipline.

<sup>11</sup> Allowed to be printed, ergo, true a braue collection, & very confistorian-like.

<sup>12</sup> Adde M. Thr. & count foure.

<sup>13</sup> He was so cleared, that without pardon he had bin hanged,

<sup>14</sup> Vtterly vntrue, as appeareth by his letters.

<sup>15</sup> A pawne not worth a point.



## An answer vnto

<sup>1</sup> A protestation  
to be reiected  
with detestation.

<sup>2</sup> He did not sup-  
pose percase re-  
bellion, or tumult  
for discipline, to  
be treason.

<sup>3</sup> I neuer heard  
of the matter vn-  
til Hacket was  
hanged. Throk.  
cannot so say.

<sup>4</sup> Your cause is  
vnlike.

<sup>5</sup> Doeth he ac-  
count that dan-  
gerous practise a  
toy?

<sup>6</sup> He knew other  
matters most  
woorthy to be  
reuealed.

<sup>7</sup> He needed not  
to feare that, if  
he had disclosed  
all he knew.

why he did not reueale the treasons and practises of Hacket, and his accomplices, he answereth in a word (and that with <sup>1</sup> protestation before the Lord of heauen and earth) because he <sup>2</sup> knew not of any, neither euer heard so much as the least noise or sound of any. & that M. Sutcliffe himself (for any thing he knowes) was <sup>3</sup> full as guiltie, and euery way as accessarie to those conspiracies, as he.

If it be demanded further, why he did not reueale so much as hee knew, namely, of their praiers, imprecations & supposed reuelations? he answereth, that the same <sup>4</sup> reason that mooued that honourable countesse to deteine still in her hands M. Copingers letter vnto her Ma-iestie, without deliuerie, namely, that there was no ground of his information, but onely his fantasie, mooued also Throkmorton not to make the magistrate acquainted with any of those <sup>5</sup> toies and fooleries, without some better ground: thinking them altogether <sup>6</sup> unworthy of their presence and eares, and fearing (vnlesse he would haue foreseene into the euent aforehand) that hee had bene liker a great deale (for troubling their honours with such a headlesse information) to haue bene rather <sup>7</sup> returned home againe as wise as he came, with some checke or reproch for his follie, then with any thanke or reward for his paines.

### M. Sutcliffe.

For the rest, saith master Throkmorton. yet hee declareth not what rest, nor whereof. so that I imagine the sting of his conscience vrging him, he hath but litle rest. He holdeth it lawfull, as he saith, to reueale treason. as if it were not also necessarily required at his hands. but if lawfull, why did not he reueale Copingers practise? why did not his consorts answer vpon their othes to those questions that concerned themselves & their felowes, being demaunded of them by the magistrates? forsooth both the Seminarie men and they, doe well agree in this point, not to de- ceale nor disclose any matter that may be hurtful to themselves, or their consorts, or their common cause. If, say the <sup>8</sup> Rhemists, thou bee put to an othe to accuse Catholikes for seruing God as they ought to doe, or to utter any innocent man to Gods enemies and his: thou oughtest first to refuse such vnlawfull othes: but if thou haue not constancie and courage so to doe, yet know thou that such othes bind not at all in conscience, and law of God, but may & must be broken

<sup>8</sup> Rhem. annotat.  
in act. 23.

ken



*ken under paine of damnation.* That the disciplinarians iumpe with them in this point, and hold themselves not bound to take othe, or to satisfie their othe, their demeanours before the commissioners, and answers before the lordes in the Starre chamber, and before her Maiesties Ecclesiasticall commissioners, doe declare. M. *Throk.* would seeme to be of another opinion, and therefore he saith, *that he holdeth it euen his duetie, to reueale any practise against her Maiestie.* wherein albeit wee respect not what hee holdeth, being a man that rather deserueth to bee holden, then to hold, especially the fantasies he holdeth, being so extrauagant & strange: yet we may see a testimonie of his own mouth & conscience against himselfe, & that the disciplinarians practise is contrary to their wordes. for if it be a matter of conscience & dutie to reueale trecherous practises; how can he excuse himselfe that reuealed not *Hackets* practise? doeth hee not thinke that *Hackets* enterprise for the cause of their discipline, was treason against her maiestie? if not, why then did y<sup>e</sup> Iurie find him guiltie, & the Iudges condemne him, & all men repute him iustly executed? doeth he not thinke, that any tumult raised for change of state or lawes is against the prince? what then wil he say further to excuse himselfe. Forsooth he pleadeth y<sup>e</sup> he knew not of any treasons that they entended. but that pleading is a meere mockerie, as hath bene shewed. for what probabilitie is it, that he should ioine with them in praier, & secret conference, and promise to ioine with *Cop.* & commend his worke as honorable, & they desire his counsell, if hee were not acquainted with their deuises, workes & counsels? nay himselfe is so touched in conscience, that remembring Christes tribunal seat, he dare not plead before him vnguiltie, but addeth, *for ought he knoweth.* perhaps he supposeth, that to stirre the country, & to take armes for the consistorie, as some either haue, or percase would doe, is a matter lawfull. If a man should before a iudge plead vnguiltie, *for ought he knoweth,* would he not be taken for guiltie? sure if not guiltie of treason or felony, yet guiltie of foolery. for in these cases euery man ought to know, yea, and to answer purely and simply without addition, *that he is not guiltie.*

Being charged in conscience, & not able to cleare himself before God, he appealeth to his own protestation, & would cleare himselfe



*An answer vnto*

himselfe by probable coniectures, and faire words. but his proceeding is very absurd, and contrary to lawe and all reason. for where the conscience accuseth, and God condemneth, he cannot acquite himselfe by his owne protestation or words. if denial or protestation, yea, if othes and execrations would serue to cleare men; there are but few traitors or felons that would bee condemned. *Martin* and other good felowes, whom *Throckmorton* well knoweth, haue made many great menteries, & vain relations and protestations, all which deserue no credit. Besides this, what a ridiculous conceit is this to thinke, when lawe pronounceth a man guiltie, that he can be discharged with wordes and protestations? yet, saith he, *Arthington* was cleared by his protestation. but how knoweth he that he was so cleared? he alleageth a long sentence out of *Arthingtons* booke, concerning his dealings with *Hacket*; a record, as he thinketh, of sound credite, and very authentickall. For why, saith he, we see his booke hath the allowance and approbation of the state. a goodly argument, and by which he may as well prooue *Aesops* fable, and *Lucians* dialogues, yea, and *Tullies* bookes that maintaine pluralitie of gods, and Paganisme to be sound and true. To mend his iudgement herein, if it be not so marred & broken, that no admonition wil serue to mend it; he is to vnderstand, that the words *Scene & allowed*, which are prefixed before diuers pamphlets haue no other force, then to signifie that they are allowed to bee printed, not allowed for law or trueth. which notwithstanding, I can be content, albeit no man hath any reason to beleue words of *Arthington* sounding to his iustification, yet to yeeld that fauour to *Throckmorton* that was yeelden to his consort *Arthington*. Let vs therefore see what he can bring or gather out of *Arthingtons* wordes.

*Throckmorton* saith, he was cleared by protestation. but what if *Arthington* will not so say? will not hee then condemne himselfe of folly, that alleageth matters that make nothing for him? I doe thinke he will not himselfe, if hee were iudge & try it. but sure he doth not so much as vtter one word sounding that way. onely he saith, that he was not acquainted with any sorcery, or wicked practise of *Hacket* against the *Queene*. but who euer did beleue him for so saying? nay, who would not rather beleue the depo-



depositions of witnesses, then the parties owne wordes? if then *Throk*, looke to be delt withall as was *Arthington*, so farre shal he be from being cleared by his owne protestation, that not on-ly Iudges and the twelue men, but all indifferent men will take him guiltie. for so should *Arthington* haue bene found, if he had not found fauour. He saieth, *hee was a great dissuader of Copinger*. but how doeth he prooue it, when his letters tend to a contrary ende, and his wordes testifie otherwise, and no man liuing is able to say so much, many men knowing the contra-rie? the onely thing that cleared *Arthington*, was his repen-tance (for, that hee maketh the title of his confession) and the meanes of his escape was no desert nor protestation, but the princes exceeding clemencie, and her gracious pardon. If then master *Throkmorton* meane to make any aduantage of *Arthing-tons* doings and example, let him folow his example, and first repent, and submissely craue pardon. his collections serue him nothing, his protestations are ridiculous, his defence most pitiful. although he vse me with litle respect, yet my selfe cannot but pitie his follie, and simplicitie.

He saieth, *enuenomed mouthes shoote dartes at his innocencie*. but alas his case is farre from innocencie. for albeit none accuse him, nor dart any arguments at him, yet his owne conscience y made him so often to change his name, calling himself some-time Iuell, sometime Iohnson, or Graener, doeth dart him and sting him, & his owne weake defence conuince him, & his own pride blind him, and misselead him, and iustice will pursue him to farther mischiefe, if he returne not quickly.

He saieth, *that I was full as guiltie, and euery way as accessarie to Hackets conspiracie as himselfe*: which argueth not onely ma-lice in railing and barking at me, but great impudencie and fol-lie. for who would euer vtter such vntueth, but such a one as considereth not what he saieth? can hee shew that euer I did talke in secreete chambers with *Hacket*, or that I ioyned with a traitor in prayer, or that I receiued treasonable letters from his secretary *Copinger*, or that I allowed their doings, or to conclude, that I conueied my selfe out of the way when the broile began? I am sure he cannot. but all this he doth either confesse of him-selfe, or saieth that, whereof so much may be inferred.



*An answer vnto*

Nay in this very place answering my question, he doeth no way satisfie my demand, nor cleare himselfe. In my answer to certaine calumnious questions propounded by a secret libeller, with whom I doubt not, but this partie had some secret intelligence, one *queree* was, *whether the sayd Iob was not an abetter, or at least, a concealer of Hackets, Copingers, and Arthingtons trecherous practises.* Hereunto *M. Throk.* after two yeeres aduise-ment answereth in this place very profoundly, *that he knew not any treasons or practises of Hacket and his accomplices.* but of a-betment of trecherous practises, he answereth nothing, nor of his dealing with *Copinger.* And besides, that his words do sound so, as if he meant to cleare *Hacket* and *Copinger*, and not onely himselfe, for his words may be expounded so, as if he did not esteeme their practises to be within the compasse of treason. No doubt he did then belecue, and I thinke hath not now changed opinion, that whatsoeuer course was then taken for the furtherance of the presbyterie, which they cal *the holy cause, & the arke of God, & Hierusalem, & Sion*, the same was both lawful & commendable. it was the thing he desired most, and much dreamed of; and that which without impietie he thought might not bee hindered. if any extraordinary course were taken for the attaining of y<sup>e</sup> end, or speeches of treason passed, yet he doth esteeme the same pardonable, as a fansie or foolery, & himself not bound to reueale such toies, as if any sound of treason were to be esteemed light, & as if dangerous euent did not often ensue of small and foolish beginnings. But who can belecue, that he esteemed these practises as toies, or iudged of *Hacket & Cop.* as fooles and mazed persons? would he haue conferred & consoorted himself with them, if he had supposed them to be fooles? it is not likely. and were they esteemed as fooles, yet all men are not to be excused that deale with such dangerous fooles. Seeing then that this man euen in his owne conscience, is so guiltie, that he dare not pronounce himselfe innocent, & that he hath so often changed his names, & that his defence doth rather offend, than cleare him: let him goe single by himselfe, and not seeke to draw honest mē, that neuer heard of, but alwaies detested such practises into consort with himselfe. At least let him blush & be ashamed to shroud himselfe vnder the actions of an honorable lady, that  
with



with all her heart abhorreth all such attempts, & no way was acquainted with these wicked mens dealings, so as Throk. was.

Throkimorton.

Touching Martin, whatsoever it pleaseth M. Sutcliffe to say, I hope those that are in authoritie, and M. Sutcliffes betters, are sufficiently perswaded of mine<sup>1</sup> innocencie that way, & seeing the gentleman hath given himselfe a commission to speake his<sup>2</sup> pleasure of my betters, there is good reason, that so<sup>3</sup> meane a man as I, should allowe him a litle to speake per hyperbolen, or<sup>4</sup> licentia poetica, as he doth of M. Cartwr. when he chargeth him with the execution of his brother Stubs his will, a thing that I haue heard him say, he<sup>5</sup> neuer delt in, in any sort in all his life. (being not so much as once<sup>6</sup> named in his will) & I do the rather beleene it, in that in one of his<sup>7</sup> books, he bringeth testimonie, as I remember, out of one of the ancient fathers, that it is either vnmeete or vnlawfull for a minister of the word, to be so much as an executor, much lesse that he should be encombred with any<sup>8</sup> ciuill office. And such another like<sup>9</sup> tale is that of the sale of his cotage, and the purchase of his 3 or 4 mannors, which is so apparant a<sup>10</sup> slander, as I doubt not but hee may bee conuincd by hundreds that are yet alieue, and I thinke fewe of his owne side so<sup>11</sup> immodest to beleene it. As for my selfe and his charge of Martinisme, if M. Sutcliffe were the man that neuer told vntueth in his life, I could easily in this case, if need were, make some<sup>12</sup> aduantage of him for my clearing and defence. For though in one of his quærces, p. 202. he lay all vpon me, I thanke him, theies, protestations, dialogues, & all (& so to speake the trueth, he may<sup>13</sup> as well all as one) yet in his better mood, when it may be he had slept better all night, he frankly<sup>14</sup> cleareth me againe, disburdening me of that charge, and letteth not to say, p. 78. that the noble Martin was Iohn Penry, Iohn Vdall, Iohn Field, all Iohns saith he. as for me he doeth but<sup>15</sup> bring me in at the latter end as a<sup>16</sup> candle-holder: and no more in deed I am not, in regard of some of those<sup>17</sup> reuerend men.

But because Madame, I am to render accompt of my doings before other<sup>18</sup> maner of men, then M. Sutcliffe: seeing an othe (as the Apostle saith) ought to be the end of all strife, I will for my finall clearing herein (whensoeuer it shalbe so thought good by the<sup>19</sup> state) wil-

and Vdall, that were condemned for felonie? <sup>18</sup> Viz. before the Iudges, which in deed will deale with him in other maner, then I doe. <sup>19</sup> The parliament must determine it, or els he meaneth to take no othe.

<sup>1</sup> Percase he thinketh it no fault to make such bookes as those that are set out in Martins name.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing I trust, but trueth.

<sup>3</sup> Yet they say, he valueth himselfe at more, then so.

<sup>4</sup> Good words, euil cased.

<sup>5</sup> Did M. Stubs put nothing to his trust?

<sup>6</sup> Nor in other conueiance of trust.

<sup>7</sup> He foloweth not alwayes his booke cases.

<sup>8</sup> Why doeth he then execute the office of the master of an hospitall, and yet discontinue so oft?

<sup>9</sup> It is but a question.

<sup>10</sup> What is slander?

<sup>11</sup> Admit a man should credite a false report, yet is there no immodestie in it.

<sup>12</sup> It is very smal, if you will see my booke, and read my words.

<sup>13</sup> For that he seemeth to haue delt in all.

<sup>14</sup> Stand then to my words.

<sup>15</sup> Then is it vntueth that I doe cleare him.

<sup>16</sup> As fit to hold a candle, as a pen.

<sup>17</sup> Doe you so accompt of Penry



*An answer vnto*

<sup>1</sup> I yeeld, for he  
is called master  
Throk. or per-  
haps Marprelate.

<sup>2</sup> For it is a coun-  
terfeit name.

<sup>3</sup> He doeth per-  
haps take his li-  
belling and dea-  
ling in Martin to  
be no fault.

lingly take this othe, as I haue heretofore offered, to wit, that I am  
not <sup>1</sup> Martin, I knew not <sup>2</sup> Martin, and concerning that I stand  
endited of, I am as <sup>3</sup> cleare, as the child vnborne.

*Matth. Sutcliffe.*

I hope, saith *M. Throkemorton*, that *M. Sutcliffes* betters, are  
sufficiently perswaded of my innocencie, for the publishing of *Martins*  
*bookes*. how then happeneth it, that he could not periwade the  
grand Iurie at Warwike, and declare vnto them his vnspotted  
innocencie? but suppose he had satisfied my betters, why doeth  
he not, being now to publish this doughtie defence of himself,  
satisfie vs that are inferiours, and would gladly vnderstand the  
truth of his magnificēce? is it not his pleasure to satisfie any but  
great lords? forsooth he hath first certaine vaine talk to spend  
about master *Stubbs* his will, and master *Cartwrights* purchases.  
so idle he is and vaine, that not hauing any good plea for him-  
selfe, yet hee will speake for others, yea, and in such causes, as  
concerne him nothing. For albeit master *Cartwright* like well  
of *Martin*, and better of *M. Throk*. yet it cannot be thereof con-  
cluded, that he is an honest mā, because he magnifieth *M. Cart*.  
hee might know that *Hacket* did glorifie him, as much as any  
man: yet was he neuer the better for that.

But seeing he wil needs draw *M. Cartwr.* into this question,  
of whom otherwise I would bee loath to say any thing; let vs  
heare his braue discourse. He saith, *I haue giuen my selfe a com-  
mission to speake my pleasure of his betters*. and this is the *praludi-  
um* of the song, but he doeth much abuse himselfe. for I am al-  
together vnwilling to speake of them, and doe it not, but being  
forced to answer. vntrueth I haue not, I trust, vitered. No? saith  
*M. Throk*. yes, that you haue, and that per hyperbolen, or *licentiam  
poeticam*. and these be his figures, wherein hee sheweth rather  
fond poesie, then sound rhetorike. but what is this vntrueth I  
haue told, or the hainous matter that I haue committed? For-  
sooth saith he, *you haue charged M. Cartwr. with the execution of  
his brother Stubbes his will wrongfully, and told a tale of the purchase  
made by him of 3 or 4 manors very slanderously*: which is the matter  
& substance of his accusation. a matter sure neither of great im-  
portance, nor sound trueth. were it that I had ben mistaken and  
abused



abused by false reports; yet maketh that neither hot nor cold to the defence of *Iob Thruk*, who maketh himselfe the subiect of this controuersie. but were it a matter of some moment, yet I do not thinke that I haue bene so farre mistaken, as this man, that is so ready to catch at euery shadow, supposeth.

This word *will* is a generall word, and doeth answere to that which we call *voluntas* in latin, which is a facultie of the minde defeigning and pursuing that which we esteeme good. In Law and in this argument, we call that the last will, wherein a man declareth his last desires concerning matters in his disposition. Which sometimes is declared to many, sometime to few; sometime in writing, and sometime without writing; sometime part in writing, and part without writing. Suppose then, that *M. Cartwr.* were not executor of that will of *M. Stubbes* that is committed to writing, nor named in the same; yet I thinke he wil not deny, but that *M. Stubbes* departing from him, and being in *procinctu*, as it were, to goe into *France*, did commit diuers things to his and other his friends speciall trust, and that before that time diuers conueyances had passed betwixt them two in trust. If he stand vpon the deniall hereof, his owne conscience his dealings with *Stubbs* his wife and kinred afterwards, that take not themselves satisfied by *M. Cartwright*, and that scedule that is mentioned in *Stubbes* his will, will conuince him. This is therefore a vaine cauill to say, *he is not named in Stubbes his will.* for I do not take *M. Stubbes* to be so vnkinde to *M. Cartwright*, or *M. Cartwright* to *Stubbes*, but that vnlesse *Stubbes* had put many things to his secret trust, he would haue named him in his will. but for auoyding of suspicion, percase it was thought best, that hee should not be named. If any thing were committed to his trust, then vnlesse he deceiued and failed his deare brother, he tooke on him the execution of his brother *Stubbes* his will.

Likewise it is a weake argument, to prooue that he dealt not in any such matter, to say that he condemneth the office of an executor in a minister of the word. For admit he had so done, yet doth he not alwayes condemne, and allow the same things: nor is his practise alwayes according to his bookes. He condemneth all ciuil offices in ministers of the word, yet can he be content to gouerne an hospitall; to let, set, sell, take and purchase landes,



which be offices, I trow, meere cyuill. It may be, also he taketh himselfe rather to be a Master of an hospitall, then a Minister of this Church. I could tell him more high pointes, but I will follow him no further then the importunitie of this aduersary inforceth me.

That which I said concerning *M. Cartwrights* purchase, albeit I desired not to be acquainted with his state, yet am I credibly enformed to be true. Sure, no tale it is, as that is of his miracles; no, nor slander neither. for his friendes doe rather thinke it a credite for him to haue so much liuing, then a slander. Yea and it may be, that the Churchaldermen of his Church will be suters to his daughters the rather. But because I would not haue either *M. Cartwright* or this good gentleman offended, be it so that *M. Cartwright* hath not purchased three or foure manners, yet vntrue it is, that I haue slandered him with the matter. I doe only aske *M. Cartwright* the question, *how a man may sell a cote and three or foure acres of land, and buy with so litle money three or foure Lordships.* I doe not say that *M. Cartwright* hath done the feate, nor that he is the man. His fauourers they tell vs of a certaine faire house and a great deale of ground that he solde, so that hee can not be the man that is meant in this place, if they say true.

In another place I say, *he hath purchased, and got into his hands landes and liuing amounting to a good value yeerely,* and *M. Cartwright* I thinke, is glad I say true; and would be sory, it were otherwise. It may be hee would be sory men should know his good estate, like to the *Donatists*, who albeit they purchased landes, yet pretended pouertie; and sought to bring others into enuy, as *S. Augustine* sheweth by the example of *Petilian*, and *Crispinus*. That he hath liuing sufficient he laugheth in his bosome. if not, he may amend that matter when he pleaseth, by conueying ouer his landes and leases to his Hospitall, by which the Lawe intendeth he hath got them for the most part. Why he should be offended with mee, or *M. Throkmorton* should say, *I slander him*, there is no reason. I would for his owne sake hee had committed no greater offence in getting them, then I haue in mentioning them. If I haue done amisse, it is because, I haue set downe too litle; too much he knoweth, I haue



haue not set downe, as you may vnderstand by these particulars. The two leases in *Welborne* which he bought of *M. Alexander Morgan* are worth yeerely two hundred markes. The landes which he hath in *Norffolke*, part whereof he had of his brother *Stubs*, amount to one halfe as they say of that summe. The value of that which he hath bought in *Warwicksheire*, hee knoweth best himselfe. some benefite he hath made by the leases of his Hospitall.

Besides all this, he hath good store of money, of which they say, he hath skill to make good vse. *M. Francis Michel* vpon his bill should haue payed him 300. pound, the 23. of December certaine yeres by passed; the money not being ready, he prayed *M. Cartwright* to forbear him two moneths, viz. to the 22. of February: which he was content to doe. But the time was so iust two moneths, that Marchants say he had double vsance, for it. That it was not lent gratis, *M. Cartwrights* owne hand will testifie. for vnder the note testifying this agreement, he wrote with his owne hand these wordes: *Provided alwayes, that this be nothing prauidiciall to the payment of the principall.* This is also certaine, that *M. Morgan* with whom he dealt much, complained bitterly, that he was eaten out with vsury. This he should not haue heard of, had not *M. Throkmorton* cried out of apparent slaunders. Neither would I haue mentioned any of these matters at the first, had not *Master Cartwright* made such outcries against the liuings, riches, and state of the Ministers of this Church, whereas there are so many poore, and yet as well deseruing as he, and so few that come neere vnto him in purchasing of land, and aboundance of wealth. And thus much may serue to answere the friuolous out-courses of this out-rider.

<sup>1</sup> This note is to be shewed, if he will deny it.

To the quæstion demaunded of him concerning those treatises, that beare the name of *Martin*, he answereth first, *that albeit* <sup>2</sup> *here I seeme to charge him with Martins Epistles, Theses,* <sup>3</sup> *and other such deuises of Martin, yet hee is able to cleare himselfe by aduantage taken of my wordes in my late* <sup>3</sup> *answere to the* <sup>3</sup> *Petition.* A matter that seemed strange to mee, when first I read *Throkmortons* letter, but more strange, when I perused mine owne booke. For I did not thinke that any had bene

<sup>2</sup> Answer to the Petition, pag. 202.  
<sup>3</sup> Pag. 78.

of



*An answer vnto*

of so hard a forehead, or grosse vnderstanding, that he would haue alledged a most direct charge, for a discharge, or to runne vpon that, which is the wracke of his cause. My words are most direct and plaine against him. *Iohn Penry*, say I, *Iohn Udall*, *Iohn Fielde*, all *Iohns*, and *Iob Throkmorton*, all concurred in making *Martin*. Which words are so farre from clearing him, that they doe clearely conuict him. euen as these wordes cleare him, so let him, of those matters whereof he would purge himselfe be cleared. Nay he confesseth in the ende, *that he is brought in for a candle holder*. Vntrue then it is, that hee is left out, or cleared. The truth is, that he is brought in as a principall agent in all these libels. Next to *Penry* that was hanged for libelling against the state, *M. Throkmorton* deserueth the first place.

Secondly he saith, *hee may aswell be charged with Martins theses, protestations, and dialogues, as with any one of Martins books*. Wherein he greatly abuseth a good Lady, and would abuse his reader also. For while he imagineth, that men doe not suppose him to be an actour in all *Martins* libels, by confessing, *that he is actour in all aswell as one*, he would auoyde the charge that is layde vpon him. whereas in truth he is guiltie of more, then is layd to his charge. Whatsoever his meaning was in these ambiguous termes; it is most apparent, that he was authour of diuers of these libels, and an actour in the printing and publishing of them all.

<sup>1</sup> That Master Throkmorton was either the author, or one of the chiefe actors in all Martins libels. the which is proued first in *Hay any worke for Cooper*.

<sup>1</sup> After that *Hay any worke for Cooper* was printed, which was Anno 1588, *Walde-graue* the printer went to *Iob Throkmortons* house. thither also did *Penry* follow him, who was the corrector and part authour of that booke: all which *Newman* their agent deposeth. Now who may not hereof gather, that all mette together to take order for the distracting of the booke, which they had printed by common consent, and that *Iob Throkmorton* was principall, for that nothing might be done without his priuitie? Secondly, it is euident that the same men were actours in the libell called *More worke*, and in the libel called, *Hay any worke*. For he that wrote, *Hay any worke*, doeth promise *More worke*. But this *more worke* is written with *I. Throkmortons* owne hand. and in diuers places with his hand it is interlined and corrected. Thirdly, the stile is so like to *Iob Throkmortons* talking and

<sup>2</sup> The booke is to be shewed him, if he mainteine the contrary.



and writing, that as children do declare whose they are by the lineaments of their visage and proportion of parts, so these libels doe bewray their natural father, by the frame of the words and sentences, and such draughtes as can proceed from no other authour. Fourthly it is to be prooued, that he both dealt with *Walde-graue* for the printing of it, and himselfe caused diuers copies thereof to be distracted abroad. Fiftly, the authour of *Martin senior* and *Martin iunior*, alloweth the libels called *Martins epitome*, and *Hay any worke*, which few doe publicly auow beside the authors.

That *Martin senior*, and *Martin iunior* were of the deuise of *Iob Throkmorton* and came from his forge, it cannot be denied. *Newman* deposeth, that he was dealt withall at *Iob Throkmortons* house, to provide a Printer to supply *Walde-graues* place, that then was runne I know not whither, out of the countrey; and that going to London, he sent thither one *Hodgskin* (a Saltpeterman, and a good printer for such saltpeter and gunnepouder workes) who went to *Throkmortons* house, where, because all things were not ready for the printing of More worke, he was agreed withall for the printing of *Martin senior*, and *Martin iunior*. *Hodgskin* and *Simmes* his man say vpon their oathes, that they were sent with a letter from *Iob Throkmorton* to *Mistresse Wigston*, to intreat her to suffer them to print at her house. Whereby it may appeare that *Throkmorton* was the author of these two libels, first because he provided the Printer, next, because he agreed with him, thirdly, because he comended them to the house, where they were to print. fourthly, for that the bookes came to *Hodgskins* handes by the appointment of *Throkmorton*, being layde in the way betwixt his and *Mystresse Wigstons* house, ready for *Hodgskin* to take up. Fiftly, for that comming to the place where the books were printed, he corrected certaine faults, and shewed *Simmes* how he should read certaine places interlined. This is depofed by *Simmes*; that, both by *Tamlin* and *Simmes*. They also depofe, that both *Martin senior* and *Martin iunior* was written with one hand. Sixtly, *Simmes* deposeth, that at the first the whole copy of *Martin iunior* was not to be found, but that vpon *Throkmortons* comming to the Printing place, it was found with the rest, so that he beleeueth that he was both the authour of it, and brought it with him at his comming thither. Seuently, both *Mar-*

<sup>1</sup> *Throkmorton* the authour of *Martin senior*, and *Martin iunior*.

<sup>2</sup> All these depofitions are extant to be shewed, testified with the deponents hands.

<sup>3</sup> Depofed by *Hodgskin*.



*An answer vnto*

v Deposed by  
Simmes.

*tin senior, Martin iunior* were written with that very same hand, that wrote most of *More worke for Cooper*, which is knowne to be *M. Throkmortons*. Lastly, doubting how these two bookes should be printed, he asked of *Hodgskin* softly in his eare, whether his two men were able to serue the turne. Now if he had had no hand in those bookes, what reason had he to be so carefull for the printing of them?

s That Throk-  
morton was part  
author of that  
infamous libell  
called, *More  
worke for Cooper*.

The like and other reasons also may ascertaine vs, that the same man was the author of that infamous & odious libel entitled *More worke*, which should haue bin printed in *Lancashire*, had not the Presse bene taken by the Earle of *Darby*. First, that is proued by the testimony of *I. Throkmortons* owne hand writing, for the copy which euery man may see that doubteth hereof, is half of it written with *Iob Throkmortons* owne hand. A man would scarcely belecue, that a man that is so slouthful when he should doe any seruice to his countrey, should take such paines in writing of libels, yet his hand writing may assure vs, that it is so. Besides this the phrase and maner of writing, which is a certaine indice and signe of the authors affections, doth declare frō whence the booke did come. so scurrilous, wicked, and railing stuffe could come from no other then *Throkmorton*. Thirdly, he that made *Martin senior & Martin iunior*, made also *More worke*. *Simmes* and *Tamlin* do both depose, that both were written with one hand. And it is already proued that *Throkmorton* was author of *Martin senior*, and *iunior*. Fourthly, the same booke is found in diuers places corrected and enterlined with *Iob Throkmortons* own hand. but no man vseth or presumeth to adde, detract, or alter the originall, beside the authour. Fifthly, at *Penryes* and *Throkmortons* intreaty, *Newman* was<sup>3</sup> content to goe frō *Throkmortons* house to *London*, to provide a Printer for the printing of *More worke for Cooper*. If he had not bene author, what needed he to haue cared for the printing of it? Sixtly, when *Hodgskin* was come to *Throkmortons* house, there the bargaine was made for the printing of the booke, as both *Hodgskin* and *Newman* doe testifie. Lastly it is deposed both by *Hodgskin* and *Simmes*, that *Throkmorton* while *Martin senior* and *Martin iunior* were in printing, should say vnto *Hodgskin*, that *More worke for Cooper* should come to his handes shortly. And so it did, being  
dropped

3 Deposed by  
Newman.



dropped out of a chamber into a roome where then *Hodgskin* was. If he were not the author, or at least an actor in it, how could hee know how the booke should come to his handes? could he prophesie, that the booke would droppe out of the chamber, if he had not bene priuie to the dropping it? An unhappy droppe for poore *Hodgskin*, who if her Maiestie had not bene gracious to him, had dropped off the gibet for it. The author in the meane time, he like a cocke on a perch croweth very lowd, and standeth on his innocencie, and defiet all those that say he is not an honest man.

If then *M. Throkmorton* made that booke which is called *More worke*, then is he<sup>1</sup> doubtlesse *Martin Marprelate*. for the author of that booke doeth in plaine termes confesse, that he is *Martin Marprelate*. Let him disguise the name as he will, and call himselfe now *Martin*, then *Marprelate*, or giue to *Perry* the name of *Martin*, and to himselfe the name of *Marprelate*, as if *Martin Marprelate* were a monster compounded of diuers persons, and much wicked scurrilitie and ribaldry: yet this is certaine that *Iob Throkmorton* was author of *More worke for Cooper*, and that the author of that booke was *Martin Marprelate*; and to go one streine further, that the same is a most infamous wicked, prophane, and scurrilous libell, the author whereof deserueth not to liue in any Christian common wealth.

The booke called<sup>2</sup> *Some in his colours* was likewise made by *I. Throkmorton*. That is proued first, by the deposition of *Waldegrae* that vpon his oath testified so much, and at *Rochel* where he printed it, spoke it openly. Secondly, albeit *Throkmorton* in this place faintly doe deny *Martins* pamphlets to be his, yet he doeth not deny that treatise to be his, being charged with it. Thirdly, the saucinesse of the stile doeth declare who was the author. Fourthly, it appeareth by the depositions of *Newman* and *Holmes*, that he dispersed diuers hundreds of those bookes, and that he corrected the said bookes, and was earnest with *Holmes* that hee should not<sup>3</sup> bewray him. I haue also seene a little pamphlet entituled<sup>4</sup> *Martins Interim*. I neede not describe vnto you the qualitie of the booke. By this you may ghesse at it, that *Iob Throkmorton* was the authour of it: a booke full of rayling and ribaldery, of cursing, slander, and impietie. The title

<sup>1</sup> That Throkmorton is the counterfeit Martin Marprelate.

<sup>2</sup> Throkmorton the author of *Some in his colours*.

<sup>3</sup> Do you thinke him innocent who stood in this feare?

<sup>4</sup> Iob Throkmorton the author of *Martins Interim*.



<sup>1</sup> All Throk-  
mortons grace is  
in writing of  
Pistles and let-  
ters.

doeth shew the humor of the author. for he calleth it *Martins interim, or a brieve Pistle to the cursed Prelates and Clergie*. In his præface he calleth them proud, Popish and tyrannicall *Rabbies*. In the beginning of his <sup>1</sup> letter, he calleth them *an vngodly swarme of caterpillers, incarnate duels, and a hellish rabble*. But of his kitchin rhetoricke, I haue giuen you a taste before, so that I neede not to stand vpon it. That it came from *Throkmorton*, although the stile may teach you, yet the same is also argued by the hand wherein it was written, and for that it came into *Scotland* together with *Iob Throkmortons* letters to *Penryes* handes. And finally, for that as he is reported to be the author of it, so there is no other, that is suspected for it, but he.

<sup>2</sup> Throkmorton  
the author of the  
Crops & flowers  
of Bridges gar-  
den.

<sup>3</sup> He hath profi-  
ted as much, as  
they that haue  
wonne to them-  
selues trouble  
and discredit.

<sup>4</sup> Is there such  
gaine in selling  
of infamous  
libels?

And because he would haue the name of a great writer of many bookes, he hath also written and <sup>2</sup> published another litle booke called, *The crops and flowers of Bridges garden*. *Newman* depoeth that in a certaine chamber in one *Master Harveys* house, *Throkmorton* tolde him that he would giue him a litle booke to helpe him towards his charges. And the rather for that he had taken great paines and <sup>3</sup> profited litle. He told him also, as the said *Newman* affirmed the name of the booke, and that hee would goe foorth to walke in the euening, and that if he would follow him, he should finde it. which fell out accordingly. Hee walked like a proper man, *Newman* folowed, the booke dropped downe, *Newman* tooke it vp. and *Throkmorton* dealt with him earnestly to print it. Yet afterward he caused one *Bowman* to moue *Newman*, y<sup>e</sup> one *James Meddowes* might be partaker with him of the <sup>4</sup> gaine of that booke: who at the last by the meanes of *Bowman* had the booke, and went ouer to *Middleborough* to print it. Further it doth appeare by a letter of *Throkmortons* to *Bowman*, that while the booke was in printing, he had a great longing to haue some of the bookes that were now, as it seemeth, finished. Euen as foolish parents long to see their children, so he was desirous to see that worke which he without any paine and great meriment had brought forth into the world.

Finally albeit *Penry* ioyned with *Throkmorton* in making most of these libels, and made diuers others himsele; yet was *M. Throkmortons* hand either in some part of them, or at the least in the dispersing of them. Let him take heed he haue not like issue  
with



with him. *When Walde-graue had printed Penries appellations, & Some in his colours, he<sup>1</sup> came to Throkmorton, to know what hee would haue done with them.* Penry found him there as Newman deposeth. Hee saith also further, *that when Godley his house at North-hampton was searched for such matters, of which one Garnet of that towne brought him word, he<sup>2</sup> packed up 500 of Martins protestations, 500 of Penries appellations, & 600 of the bookes called Some in his colours, and sent the by him the sayd Newman & Garnet to Banbury.* Newman thinketh, *that Martins protestation was printed with inke sent by James Meddowes to Throk. house, & that not without his prinitie.* He was the man that<sup>3</sup> prouided Printers and merchants for the bookes set out vnder the name of *Martin and Penry*, as is euident by the depositions of *Newman and Holmes*, and *Hodgeskin* and his men. Vpon him was the special care laied for the correct and orderly printing of all their deuises. he sent about to London, yea into France and Scotland about all those matters. hee was a speciall agent for *Iohn Penrie*. *Augustine Maicocke* deposeth, *that he collected money in London toward Penries reliefe, and the paiment of his debts.* If any danger were toward the printers or sellers of his bookes, intelligence was giuen streight to *I. Throkmorton*.<sup>4</sup> *Garnet* of North-hampton brought him notice, *how Godleis house was searched.* Sharpe being examined concerning these matters, sent him a rote of that he had confessed. Newman serued as it were for a foote post to goe too and fro, to giue intelligence how matters went. good it was for him, that he was a cobbler. for if he had not bin able to mend his shooes himselfe, he had neuer bene able to beare the charges. if there were any danger toward, *Throkmorton* first vsed to giue his complices warning. In a certaine letter of his to *Maicocke*, he giueth him warning to looke how hee trusted *Bowman*. When *Iohn Penry* lurked here and there like a foxe, yet was he neuer so closely hid, but that *Throkmorton* knew where he was, as doeth appeare by the deposition of *Ienkin Iones*, who by his meanes found him in a certaine odde ale-house, 18 miles from Fawscley. When the sunne began to shine so hote in England that *Penry* could not abide it, but must seeke for a colder region to liue in, *Throkmorton* was the man that set him in his way & furnished him with money. if any materiall occurrents fell out, he

<sup>1</sup> Deposed by Newman and Holmes.

<sup>2</sup> Throk. a merchant, and distractor of libels.

<sup>3</sup> Throk. a principall agent, in printing and selling of seditious bookes, and directing, and helping those that were employed therein.

<sup>4</sup> Deposed by Newman.



*An answer vnto*

1 Throk. letter to  
Penry into Scot-  
land, vnder a  
counterfeit  
name.

failed not thereof to aduertise *Penrie*. In one letter hauing gi-  
bed at the state, he writeth thus in derision of her Maiestie, and  
of her gouernement; *1 O Sir (saith he) hath not her Maiestie*  
*reigned prosperously, and is it a time, thinke you, to alter all these,*  
*and so many blessings bestowed vpon vs: to raise turmoiles, and in-*  
*nouations, and to pull the crowne off her head? well, your worship*  
*(saith he, meaning Penrie) will not meddle with any of these kind*  
*of seditious people.* he doth also certifie him of *Vdals*, *Cartwrights*  
and others imprisonment, and of the taking of the presse and  
copie of *More worke* in Lancashire, by the noble earle of *Darbie*;  
for so he writeth in scorne of his lordship, as the circumstance  
of the place declareth. He signifieth vnto him further, that the  
Printers then taken had confessed, *that Martin was made by Pen-*  
*rie and one of the Throkmortons.* In the latter ende hee writeth,  
that her Maiestie had lately bene in danger of poisoning, & that  
other shrewd plots had bene laied against her, and all by *Penry*.  
great pitie it is, seeing the man is so busie, that he is not called to  
render a reason of these sayings.

Wherefore albeit some doubt hath bene made heretofore,  
who was the author of those sedicious and impious pamphlets,  
that in front cary the name of *Martin*: yet these reasons groun-  
ded vpon the depositions and othes of diuers men, and kept in  
Records to be seene of as many as list to take copies of them, be-  
ing well considered, I trust, there is none will deny, but that  
*Throk.* was a principall agent in them all, and the man that prin-  
cipally deserueth the name of *Martin*. nay, so litle doeth he re-  
pent him of his insolent misdemeanour formerly vsed, that hee  
calleth *Vdall* and *Penrie*, two most factious persons, and which  
for defaming her maiesties gouernment, and railing and libel-  
ling against the state, were condemned by course of the commo  
lawes, *reuerend men*. a matter to be maruelled at, but that mal-  
contents that raile against their gouernors, do ordinarily com-  
mend malefactors & sedicious persons. The Papists do register  
diuers for Martyrs & Confessors, that in publike Records of this  
realme, are noted and registred for felons & traitors. and master  
*Throk* if he continue this course long, wil not come farre behind  
them. For albeit he take the not, for ought I can learne, for con-  
fistoriall martyrs; yet he accounteth them reuerend men: which  
is



is nothing els, but a plaine testimony of y<sup>e</sup> consistorians cankered malice against the state, of their presumption in acquiting those whom the iudges condemned of their proud disdain against iustice, & of their loue & liking of felons and malefactors. How much better had it bene for *M. Throk*, to hold his peace, then by answering, to declare his misliking of iudges, & malcontentmēt against lawes, like an absolute king acquiting those by his word whō lawes by the iudges sentence had condemned? a king certes in his high throne of his owne fond conceit, and if matters might be brought about, a president of the consistory at the left.

Now because his deniall against so many witnessles, & arguments, is but a weake defence, and no sufficient matter to cleare him of the suspicion of *Martinisme*; he saith further, *that hee is ready to take his othe, that he is not Martin.* and yet her Maiesties messengers say, he is not very ready. for as oft as he was sought for to that purpose, he hid his head and lay like *Saturne in Latio*, lurking, & would not come forth. He addeth therefore this condition, *so it may be before the court of Parliament, or the lordes of her Maiesties priue counsell.* as if a court of parliament were to be summoned to try euery odde libeller, or els as if *Throkmorton* were a consistorial king, whom all inferior iudges were vnworthy to examine, and sentence. But suppose the parliament had so litle to doe, as that the same would be pleased to tender this great *magnifico* an othe; yet I belecue master *Throkmorton* hath not that credite in that high court, as that he should greatly desire his cause to be tried there. I thinke he may remember, when for railing against foraine princes, hee was glad to forsake that place where hee was a burgesse, and to hide his head a great part of the parliament time, at Hillington: and I thinke his dealing against his owne soueraigne ladies gouernement will not more lightly bee censured. he flieth therefore at length to the lordes. but they be not his peeres by whom he must be tried; nor is he so great a man, that either the court of parliament, or her Maiesties counsell must be assembled to giue him an othe. Had *Hacket* bene *Mahomet*, and he great *Bassato Hacket*; yet may he not claime a priuiledge aboue *Mahomet Hacket*, who was tried by other iudges, then the estates in parliament, or lordes of her maiesties counsell.

But



*An answer vnto*

But were it granted vnto him that he might chuse his owne iudges, which in matters criminall is not vsuall; yet what is it, that he would sweare? he saith, *he would sweare that hee is not Martin, nor knew not Martin.* a goodly dish of googeons, as if any did say that his name is *Martin*, or that he knew a man called *Martin*, that made the bookes that go vnder the name of *Martin*. We know his name is *Iob*, albeit he hath rather the botches, then the patience of *Iob*; and are not ignorant that *Martin* was a counterfeit name, assumed not by counterfeit, but by plaine libellers. He presumed therefore too farre vpon the patience of his lady, and tooke the lordes and estates to be very simple, if he imagined that they would suffer such an answer to passe for paiment, or discharge him that answered so simply. But if hee meane to discharge himselfe by his othe, he must sweare, and vpon his othe answer first, that he neuer made nor published, nor yet holpe to make, print or publish any of those bookes, that goe vnder the name of *Martin Marprelate*, or *Hay any worke*, or *More worke*, pretended to be made by the said *Martin*: Secondly, that hee neuer added any wordes or sentences toward the filling or furnishing of those bookes: Thirdly, that he now condemneth *Martins* epistles, and other bookes bearing that name, and that hee neuer commended nor allowed them heretofore: Fourthly, that hee was neither *Martin*, nor *Marprelate*, nor the whole, nor the part of that conie-catcher and libeller, called *Martin Marprelate*. Lastly, that himselfe neither had, nor euer dispersed any such bookes. if hee sweare not this, he sweareth nothing sufficient to cleare him: if he doe sweare it: yet will I rather beleue the othes of the grand Iurie that endited him, and the witnesses that testified against him, and the plaine arguments that doe conuince him, then his othe, albeit he were a man that had great conscience to declare a trueth. what then is to be expected of a man of that faction, that respect rather their profite, then their othe? when all is done, yet I beleue, he will be aduised how he sweare, and therefore doeth he sweare by protestation, or rather doeth promise to sweare, and that with such conditions, as I thinke, hee meaneth not to sweare at all. for how can he sweare that he is innocent, when so many witnesses testifie against him, and so many



many Iurors haue sworne, that the bill of his enditement was true? doeth he take libelling to bee no fault? why, all lawes condemne it. The ciuill lawes of the Romanes punish both the authors and abettors of such practises very seuerely. doeth hee then imagine, that it is no vnlawfull thing to set foorth such bookes as those are which goe vnder *Martins* name? why then did hee not set his name to them, and auowe them? that they are most wicked and villanous his owne conscience did teach him. That was the cause, that hee so oftentimes after the maner of Iesuites, that goe about disguised to worke mischief, vsed to change his name, calling himselfe sometime master *Iuell*, sometime master *Warner*, sometime master *Grinel*, sometime master *Stone*, sometime master *Robinson*, sometime *M. Graener*, sometime master *Tomson*. that also caused him to change the names of those to whom he wrote, calling *Maicocke*, *May*, and *Boweman*, *Archer*: a practise much vsed by *Hacket* and *Copinger*, but seldome vsed by any<sup>3</sup> honest men. but had *M. Throk-mortons* conscience bene seared, and past feeling, so that hee could not discerne the wickednesse of *Martins* writings: yet the writings themselues doe testifie against the author. At religion he maketh a iest, gibing and scoffing in most serious matters. The holy virgine and mother of God, that cursed seed of Cham calleth in derision, *Sir Marie*: and the holy Apostle *S. Peter*, he calleth *Sir Peter*, as if hee were but a common priest, and much vnlike and inferiour to the lordes of the consistorie. forgetting the matter hee hath in hand, hee holoweth, shouteth, and whoopeth like a man of Bedlem, and crieth, so, ho, ho. forgetting himselfe, he falleth in scorning, with termes vnwoorthie to be spoken, or written. What should I speake of his malicious railing against many honest men, that neuer thought him hurt? he spareth none. both the Queene and the lordes, and the Iudges, feeble the smart of his stinging and malicious tongue. I neede not shew his wicked and spitefull railing against the ministerie of this church. for that was the purpose of all his discourses, and alreadie I thinke you are wearie to heare the iniurious speeches hee hath vttered agaynst them. the Scriptures he abuseth, lawes and authoritie he contemneth; at the fathers of the church, like a most wicked impe he raieth.

<sup>1</sup> Throk. often changed his name.

<sup>2</sup> This appeareth by Bowmans & Maycocks depositions.

<sup>3</sup> Few honest men haue so many names, & vse to counterfeit names.



*An answer vnto*

the bookes then of *Martin* being so infamous and wicked, and the man so guiltie euen in his owne conscience, that hee durst neuer abide triall, how can *Throkmorton* say without blushing, that he is as cleare of all the matter whereof he standeth endited, as the child vnborne? Is it his meaning, that as the child vnborne is vncleane, and teinted with originall sinne, so he is guiltie of the matters contened in the enditement? if that be his meaning, I confesse he saith true, but then his othe so taken, will not cleare him. if his meaning be otherwise, the no man that is wise wil either trust his word or othe. for y<sup>e</sup> matter is clearly proued against him. His meaning therefore, I thinke, is to take exception against the forme of the enditement, and to sweare that hee taketh himselfe cleared, because in the enditement there wanteth formalitie. yet so long as the same standeth vnreuerfed, who will not rather beleue the othes of many indifferent men, then of the partie himselfe in his owne discharge, especially they being led by diuers witnesses, the partie speaking to saue his honestie?

Wherefore seeing so many witnesses, and so many presumptions and proofes make against *Throkmorton*, and his own conscience and hand-writing doeth so charge him, that his owne tongue cannot discharge him, he must seeke vs for some better argument then his owne protestation and othe to cleare him; or els all men will hencefoorth take him for the mazed fellow that was author of *Martin*, and iudge him worthy the reward of his fellow *Penry*.

Throkmorton.

*For the rest, that I liue vnder a most gracious princeesse, & a mercifull gouernment, I were greatly to blame, if I would not in all humblenesse<sup>1</sup> acknowledge, and if I haue not bene thankefull to God for it, my sinne sure hath bene the<sup>2</sup> greater. but what prince and gouernment liueth master Sutcliffe vnder, trowe you? if it bee the<sup>3</sup> same that I liue vnder (and I hope how farre soeuer he hath<sup>4</sup> travelled, he hath none other) then if I be not<sup>5</sup> deceiued, (vnlesse he haue some charter of priuiledge that I know not of) his band and*

<sup>1</sup> And yet he acknowledged no fauour done to him, but standeth on points of iustice.

<sup>2</sup> As great as disloyaltie to his prince, or disobedience to lawes.

<sup>3</sup> It is the same, but I neuer yet needed like fauor. <sup>4</sup> I neuer travelled from place to place to hide my head, nor to write Martinical libels. <sup>5</sup> He is deceiued in many things.



<sup>1</sup> recognizance is full as great as mine, and he as deeply engaged this way as my selfe. and if it be <sup>2</sup> true, that a reuerend Iudge did once tell my lord Chauncellor that dead is, that the matter of the enditement that passed against Throkmorton at Warwike, was in trueth but a friuolous matter, and a thing that he would easily auoid: and if it be true that the sayd lord <sup>3</sup> Chancellor (who if I be not deceiued, was able to see as farre into a man as M. Sutcliffe) did say not onely priuately in his house, but euen to her Maiestie, who <sup>4</sup> caused the same to be signified vnto me (that I might therein be <sup>5</sup> thankfull vnto my lord) and more then that, if the sayde lord Chancellor did openly in <sup>6</sup> parliament (whereof there are yet liuing witnesses enow) pronounce that he knew the sayd Job Throkmorton to be an honest man.

M. Sutcliffe.

In my answere to the petition, vpon occasion offred, I asked this question; whether M. I. Throkmorton did not line vnder mercifull gouernours that suffered him to line in peace, notwithstanding his notorious insolencie, and manifold misdemeanors. I might aske him also this question, whether he thinketh not, that he hath to deale with patient men, and very vnlike himselfe, that being so shamefully by him abused and railed at in diuers libels, do notwithstanding contemne his barking and his bawling. but this I will prosecute some other time; now let vs see what he answereth to the first. He confesseth, that he liueth vnder a most gracious Princeesse, and a mercifull gouernement, but that he liueth vnder mercifull gouernours, which I looked he should acknowledge, he wil not confesse. belike he supposeth, that all other her maiesties officers and iudges haue delt with him rigorously, and with his consortes vnmercifully. he would say as much of her maiestie, if he might with safetie. In this point concerning Martins libels, he wil not acknowledge any fauor receiued from her, nor yeldeth himselfe to be beholding to her. Howsoeuer it is, her maiestie is nothing beholding to him, that most vngraciously, & vngratefully abusing her gracious clemencie & exceeding mercy, she hauing winked at so many lewd pranks of his, & shewed him so many fauours, hath by all his power and skil gone about to ouerthrow her power and prerogatiue in ecclesiasticall causes, her ecclesiasticall lawes, and her whole gouernment.

<sup>1</sup> Was I euer bound in recognizance to answer before iudges, as was M. Throk.

<sup>2</sup> As most vntue it seemeth to be.

<sup>3</sup> He had neuer but a hard opinion of Throk. as may be prooued by witnesses, if need be.

<sup>4</sup> Is it likely?

<sup>5</sup> His thanks were scoffes & iestes.

<sup>6</sup> Me thinks this man should not so oft talke of the parliament, seeing he durst not when time was, shew himselfe in the parliament, albeit he were a burgesse thereof.



*An answer vnto*

But albeit he confesseth, *that hee liueth vnder a most gracious princeesse*, yet doeth he not yeeld her any thanks for any benefite or fauor receiued at her hands, or at the hands of inferior magistrates. only he sheweth that he hath deserued Gods iust iudgement for his vnthankfulnesse; as if vnthankfulnes were not odious both to God and man. *If I haue not bene thankfull*, saith he, *my sinne sure hath bin the greater*. but he should rather shew that he hath bene thankfull, then acknowledge his vnthankfulnesse, and yet stand vpon iustice, rather then fauour.

Mercy hee will not by any meanes acknowledge. nay, hee saith, *that I stand as well obliged to shew my selfe thankfull for her mercy, as himselfe*. but how shamelesly hee affirmeth it, I report me to all indifferent mens iudgement. my case and his be farre vnlike. For albeit both of vs liue vnder one most gracious princeesse, yet I trust I may say without note of presumption, y I haue done her some more seruice then he, and he in matters criminal, hath tried her exceeding clemencie and grace more then I; hee is aliue by her fauour, whom lawes would haue prosecuted to death; I liue vnder her lawes, & by them I hope to liue: he is not yet cleare of the enditement that passed against him at Warwike, for disgracing her maiesties gouernment, & making certaine scorneful and Satyricall libels vnder the name of *Martin*, nor out of reach of danger; contrarywise, I haue to my power defended the peaceable gouernment of the Church, and would be loath to come to such a plunge, as did *Throk Morton*; neither had I at any time cause to feare the proceeding of law, or to beg pardon.

Neither did I so behaue my selfe in places abroad, that hee should obiekt my trauell into other countries vnto me. I had her Maiesties licence to goe, I had the Colledges allowance, whereof I was then fellow, to spend, and I did, I trust, so bestowe my time, as I need not be ashamed to heare what I did, being either in places of studie, or imploied in seruice against her Maiesties enemies: Two things which master *Throk* cannot be slandered with, being neither great student nor seruitour, but rather like a horse-leech liuing on the blood and sweate of others; and a man that taketh more delight in writing of libels, and flaunderous and ribauld-like letters, and spreading of newes, and



and furthering of new deuises, then in any seruice in the Church or common wealth. But if he take to himselfe ease at home, and libertie to slugge and loytre, like a swine in his cote; let him not calumniate others industry that trauaile and serue her Maiestie abroad. Let him not therefore compare himselfe vnto me, vnlesse hee will heare more of his fooleries, nor let him say, that I stand in the same case that he doeth, or for my life enioyed like fauour that he hath,

I know he denieth, that he deserueth any punishment, and will not any way acknowledge himselfe beholding to her Maiestie, or to others for his life: but how wisely, that is the question. To proue his innocencie he alledgeth *that a certaine reuerend Iudge said to my Lord Chancellour that dead is, that the matter of his enditement was friuolous, and easily to be auoyded.* Which I can very hardly beleue. For who will say that slandering and defaming her Maiesties gouernment is a friuolous matter? or that railing and Printing of infamous libels against the state, and the reuerend Prelacie of this Church, is a friuolous matter? No doubt, if any such thing had bene done, we should haue had witneses named, and that could haue spoken, and not men vnknown and dead. All that can speake any good of *M. Throk-morton* are still mute and dead. Besides this, the Iudges and Iury at *Warwicke* thought otherwise of the enditement. for the Iury found it, and the Iudges thought it worthy to be enquired of. Neither can *Throk-morton*, to say trueth, say any thing to the matter, but to the forme. The matter was most odious, and intolerable. Peruse the bookes called *More worke*, and *Martin senior*, *Martin iunior*, and *Martins Interim*, and the rest of *Throk-mortons* libels, you shal finde that neither in causes of Religion nor state, any such were euer suffered without punishment of the authors to be written or published.

At Religion he maketh a iest, against lawes he repugneth, he railleth most shamefully at the reuerend Prelates of the Church of England. the Cleargie is in no reckening with him. What he hath said in his bookes set out vnder the name of *Martin*, the world knoweth. In his booke called *Martins Interim* a booke knownen to be *Throk-mortons*, he calleth the most reuerend Prelate in this land, whom for his pietie and grauitie all men reue-



■ Martins Interim.

rence, and for his iustice, and humanitie, his enemies cannot chuse but honour, <sup>1</sup> *the enemy of Christ, and Antichrist, yea and contemptible varlet*; the Bishops and Clergie he calleth *miscreants, caterpillers, locusts, and diuels incarnate*. and so he goeth on throughout his booke. And that is also the stile of *Martin senior*, and *Martin iunior*. Further, therein he ouerthroweth al her Maiesties supremacie, yea & authoritie in Ecclesiastical causes, and the whole frame of the gouernment of the Church of *England*, and the Lawes therof. Lastly he bringeth in a new packe of gouernours, & a new forme of lawes cōtrary to the word of God, to all the fathers and all antiquitie, and to the Lawes of this Realme. And will he that offendeth in so high degree, plead his innocencie? or dare he, whom no wildernesse can exempt or hide from punishment, offer his shamelesse face to the tribunall of Iustice? The ciuill Lawes doe seuerely punish libellers, albeit the offence concerne onely priuate persons; and with vs in the Starre-chamber such kind of men are seuerely dealt withall. What then doeth he deserue that libelleth against Lawes, against orders, against the Prince, against the Prelates, and maketh a iest at Religion and Iustice? Happy it is, that he keepeth himselfe out of the way, and pleadeth before a Lady whose ignorance he hopeth to abuse. but if once his doings be knowne, and layde open before the Iudges, not onely all others, but his Lady also will condemne him for his notorious lewdnesse, and impudence.

Neither is that likely to be true, which *Throkemorton* in fauour of himselfe alledgeth, and fathereth vpon my Lord Chancellor that late was. Is it likely that so graue and wise a counsellor should giue such a testimony to such a railer and libeller, or that he not onely in his owne house, but also in her Maiesties presence, and in open Parliament should affirme *Iob Throkemorton* to be an honest man? First the Parliament is no place to speake of priuate persons, vnlesse their offences be great and publike. and hard it is to know what priuate talke passeth betwixt Princes and Counsellors. Further, if my Lord did doubt whether *Iob Throkemorton* were iustly endited or not, and needed to be enformed by a Iudge concerning the forme of that proceeding, it is not probable that he would giue him a testimony



monie of his owne knowledge, and affirme him to be so honest as is pretended, especially there being so many præsumptions, and proofes to the contrary. But that of all other is most ridiculous, that he saith *that her sacred Maiestie sent to this sacred Disciplinaryan a message, and caused my Lord Chancellers good meaning to be signified vnto him.* for who knoweth not, that this is not the maner of Princes? Finally, I haue bin certified by men of sound credit, and against *Throkmorton* certes no parties, and that were neerer and farre better acquainted with the late Lord Chancellor, then euer was *M. Throkmorton*, that his Lordship did accompt of him, as of a man of a lewd, and proude disposition, and of a dissembling, and factious spirit, and gaue out very hard speeches against him. They told me further, that what fauour he shewed him in qualifying his manifold offences for which he was constrained to hide his head, and to keepe himselfe out of the reach of her Maiesties Iudges and Commissioners, flying from place to place, the same was extorted from him by the importunitie of some friends, which are to be named, and wonne by a counterfaite submission made vnto him by *Throkmorton*, with an humble acknowledgement of his faults. But if my Lord Chancellor did him any fauour, or spoke any good words of him, euil hath he deserued the same, most like an vnthankful man, iesting and gibing at his Lordship, and vttering wordes tending to his dishonour. Seeing then al the allegations which *M. Throkmorton* hath made, are so weake and so improbable, most weake and improbable must needes that conclusion be that foloweth.

*Throkmorton.*

*If all these, I say, be true; I thinke I may <sup>2</sup> safely conclude in defence of my selfe against M. Sutcliffe, the pretended conspiracie, and all others, that this sparing course, that hath bene hitherto held with me, hath rather (to speake the trueth) bene a course of iustice, then a course of <sup>3</sup> mercy; and that if all things be rightly considered, it is a farre greater mercie and patience to suffer M. Sutcliffe, and such as he is, thus <sup>4</sup> shamefully to traduce whole Churches, and to set his colebrand of infamy vpon the most reuerend men, that <sup>5</sup> euer wrote, then*

<sup>2</sup> Not very safely. and that his conscience can tell him.

<sup>3</sup> Doeth he deserue mercy, that will acknowledge no fauour to haue bene done him?

<sup>4</sup> Leauering, and name these Churches, and

shew wherein they haue bene diffamed; or els all men will say, that your selfe deserue to be branded, and colebranded. <sup>5</sup> What is more reuerend then the ancient fathers? nay, then the Prophets and Apostles?



*An answer vnto*

<sup>1</sup> That is his fault, of which his owne conscience accused him, and made him diuersly change & counterfeit his name, and runne from place to place.

to suffer Iob Throk Morton to goe in peace. Who so long as he hath his owne innocencie, and vnguiltinesse for his clearing, maketh no doubt (notwithstanding all this racking, wresting, and<sup>1</sup> libelling against him) but he shall haue alwayes the Lawes of God, and her Maiestie for his sufficient<sup>2</sup> shelter and defence.

<sup>2</sup> If some had done halfe so much as M. Throk Morton, they had ere this, had an other shelter ouer their head to keepe them from the weather.

*M. Sutcliffe.*

What *M. Throk Morton* thinketh to conclude, we may easily imagine. An opinionatiue and conceited man, no doubt, wil conclude strange and wonderous conceits. But what he thinketh to conclude, is not in question. the doubt is, what may be concluded, and what others thinke may be concluded, which thinke otherwise (I doubt not) then he thinketh. For admit most were true of that which hath bene discoursed in this letter; yet were the conclusion most weake, and feeble. Which to goe no further may be declared by this last point concerning *Throk Mortons* enditement. For albeit my Lord Chancellour had had a good opinion and spoke well of the man; yet might he be either deceiued by his feined submission, and fleering hypocrisie, or inclined by his owne good nature to thinke better of him, then the man deserued. Againe, although an enditement may be ouerthrowen for want of forme, and due circumstance; yet may the matter therein conreined be true, and the partie againe bee called vpon a new enditement. Like to this are the rest of *Throk Mortons* arguments, mishapen, weake, and vnsufficient.

But if beside the forme of his arguments, there is no trueth in his allegations, nor prooffe of any thing which he affirmeth; *M. Throk Morton* is farre from his conclusion. Nay seeing he standeth vpon the iustice of his cause rather then fauour, he hath precluded himselfe from all fauour. for what fauour is to be extended on him, that claimeth none, nay, acknowledgeth none, albeit hitherto through her Maiesties great clemencie he hath enioyed the same. Is this the thanke that her highnesse hath, and that all her officers, that deliuered this man from his great danger shall haue? See, I pray you, what it is to bestow a grace vpon an vnthankfull person. Now that he escapeth by fauour, he condemneth all them that passed on his trial.

He



He concludeth yet further, *that it is farre greater mercy to suffer M. Sutcliffe, and such as hee is, thus shamefully to traduce whole Churches, and to set his colebrand of infamy vpon the most reuerend men, that euer wrote, then to suffer Iob Trokmorton to go in peace.* A conclusion without good praemisses, & therefore to be reiected. yea full of false and slanderous matter, well beseeming the foule mouth and wicked tongue that vttered it, and therefore not to be credited. Why doth he not shew where and in what words, *I, and such as I am haue traduced*, yea and as he saith, *shamefully traduced whole Churches*? why doth he not shew what these Churches are? why doth he not name those most reuerend men on whom he saith, *we haue set this colebrand of infamy*? Belike a phantastickall colicke had seazed his braine, and a pang of railing tooke him ouerthwart the stomacke, so that to ease himselfe, he must needs discharge his malice vpon me. But what is malice without might, or railing without reason?

*I trust they are honest men, whom he rail-eth at.*

He saith we haue *thus shamefully traduced whole Churches*: yet he sheweth not how, nor wherein. Of the Churches of *France* we speake reuerently. with the *Germanes* we liue in better amitie, then they do. the Church of *Scotland* we embrace, & do not repell any reformed Church from our Communion. Why then doth not this railing fellow note wherein they haue bene either traduced or abused? Because we speake against the new church-aldermen, and that gouernment, do we therefore traduce those Churches that haue embraced the same? Why do we more traduce them, then *Th. Cartwr. Wat. Tr. Iob. Penry, and Martin* traduce our Church, nay all Churches from Christes time downward vntil now, that were gouerned by Bishops, whē they most shamefully, and odiously, yea and ignorantly raile against Bishops? But what should we cōpare our selues with them, when we onely condemne the Consistorial gouernment, as not fitting our Church, they simply cōdemne Bishops in al Churches? We are content they shall enioy their gouernment albeit neuer so strange, vnreasonable and absurd; they raile against vs, and will not suffer vs to enioy that gouernment that euer since Christes time was in the Church, and which we presently enioy, but will needs obtrude a new absurd gouernment vpon vs, which neither our fathers, nor y<sup>e</sup> Church of God euer heard of, but of late.



For we onely  
oppugne it, as  
obtruded on the  
Church of Eng-  
land, and not as  
it is in other pla-  
ces, with whom  
we will not  
meddle.

Besides this, we do only defend our owne gouernmēt, we do not  
oppugne theirs; but these felowes they haue directly oppugned  
the Church wherein they liued, & like *malcontents* and schisma-  
tickes haue rent the vnity of Christs body. These are therefore  
the men that haue traduced, yea and shamefully abused the  
Church of God, and dishonored the ancient Church of Christ,  
that was alwaies gouerned by that forme which they oppugne.  
Was not then *Throkymorton* a shamelesse man to accuse the in-  
nocent, himselfe and his copartners being so guilty?

But may *Throkymorton* say, you haue written against *Caluin* and  
*Beza*, & haue called their names in question. For the first we grant,  
that in some things we dissent from them, and haue in deede  
shewed reasons, why we do so. yet haue we done it with mo-  
desty, and without breach of charitie. We haue not as this foule  
mouthed letter-maker, if he meane them, saith, set the colebrand  
of infamy vpon them. Nay, we haue as much as we might co-  
uered the nakednesse of both, and borne with the olde age of  
the one. For mine owne part I haue bene content, albeit *M.*  
*Beza* vsed me with indecent termes, to forgiue it, and to sup-  
presse that booke which I had written in answere of his booke  
against *M. Sarania*. I would not adde affliction to affliction, the  
olde man being now done. For the second, we deny that we  
haue called their names in question. we take them for learned  
men, and acknowledge their labours. Neither is it any disgrace  
for them, that we doe not folow their fantasies in matter of Ec-  
clesiasticall gouernment. For if it be lawfull for them to dissent  
from al antiquitie, who can iustly reprove vs for dissenting from  
them? the very Consistorians do not folow *Caluin* in al points,  
either of doctrine or gouernment. Why should then we be  
more bound then they? Nay, why should we rather follow  
them, then they vs, considering that al antiquitie maketh against  
them for vs? are they such as may no way be named, nor in their  
singuler opinions forsaken?

*Throkymorton* seemeth to say, that they are the most reuerend men  
that euer wrote. But that is but one of his hyperbolicall speaches,  
albeit arguement sufficient of his hyperbolicall ignorance. It was  
much to preferre them before all the writers of our tyme, but  
more to preferre them before all the ancient fathers. But to set  
them

It shall come  
forth notwith-  
standing, God-  
willing, if they  
content not  
themselves.



them before the Prophets and Apostles, as *Throk Morton* doeth, that calleth them *the most reuerend men that euer wrote*, that is a point of exceeding ignorance, and vanitie. I will not speake against them. let them be most reuerend men; yet they are not so reuerend, but that the consent of antiquitie, and all times is to be preferred before them. Neither doe I thinke they desire more.

If then *M. Throk Morton* do meane them, he was too hastie to say, *that we set the colebrand of infamy vpon them*. Nay let their names liue in honour, and their writings long be esteemed, and let such cole-blacke companions as this railing letter-scraper is, be branded with that shame they seeke to bring vpon others. If he meane *M. Cartwright*, *M. Fenner*, *Penry*, *Udall*, and himselfe, and such like writers, I say first, that they haue branded themselves with notes of great folly and ignorance, and not we. We only resist their violence, and raging desire of innouation. They haue declaimed against lawes, gouernours, ancient orders confirmed by all antiquitie, against her Maiestie and the state. *M. Throk Morton* may remember that he was indited for his dealing that way; *Hodgskin*, that he was cōdemned for printing *Throk-mortons* libels; *Penry*, he was iustly hanged for his malicious and wicked libelling; *Udall* and *Copinger* preuented by death the execution of Lawe; and there is none of these kinde of men, whose dealings are not marked in records of iustice. Now then if these fellows take to themselves libertie to *degorge* their filthy stomackes against the Church; I trust none will be offended with them, that haue written in defence of the Church and state.

Next, it may be alledged that these writers are neither most reuerend, nor reuerend. *M. Cartwright* hath shewed some wit and learning in his writing, but sure he could not haue employd the same worse, then in the disturbance of the peace of the Church, as hee hath done. As for the rest, they neither shew learning, wit, nor modestie, nor any thing that is commendable in good writers. Few of them know how to write or to speake, none to write or speake well. Such writings in time past went to the spicerie, these goe to the pastrie. neither of the writings, nor writers, is there any reckoning to be made. If then I haue



handled these men not as they deserued, but as was fittest; I trust it is not so great a fault as may deserue to be punished in like degree with *M. Throkmortons* saucinesse and libelling, for which he standeth endited; and may be dealt with further, if he content not himselfe. Let him therefore cease to compare himselfe being an odde malicious libeller, that by all meanes hath gone about to oppugne the state, with honest and well affected men, that haue by all the wit and cunning they haue, sought to maintaine vnitie, peace, trueth, Religion, learning, iustice, by which states are maintained; and let him cease his barking against Iudges & Lawes, least his next letter be not refuted with words, but by iustice, and Law punished.

He braggeth much of his innocencie. how vainely, hath bin shewed by the depositions of diuers witnesses. good it were therefore for him, that he stood not too much vpon it. yet seeing he appealeth to Law, to Law I commit him, beseeching al those to whom the gard and execution of Law is committed, to haue regard that such slanderous mouthes, as raile against Lawes, orders, Iudges, iudgements, and all orderly proceedings may be stopped, or at least that their malice may be repressed, that malice preuaile not against Law.

Throkmorton.

*Thus, Madame, haue I<sup>1</sup> endeuord my selfe in that<sup>2</sup> measure I could to satisfie your<sup>3</sup> earnest request. wherein what other defects soeuer there be, I would be loth there should be found any vnruth. If your honour thinke it good to make it knowne abroad to others, I<sup>4</sup> am not against it. Seeing my defacing hath bene publique, I hope no man will blame me if I desire, that my clearing might also bee publique. The blot and blemish of my<sup>5</sup> goodname, hath bene as you see publicquely spread and proclaimed, as it were, ouer the whole land, and my selfe no lesse<sup>6</sup> wounded then in capite, that is in my allegiance to my Prince, and I by this their<sup>7</sup> wresting, cartayling, and implying, made litle better then a traitour and conspiratour in th'eyes of the world. A thing, that if I remember my selfe well, ought no doubt to<sup>8</sup> humble me, and pull me downe (if it were possible) to the very centre of the earth.*

*In which regard when I looke backe to the<sup>9</sup> sinnes of my former life, I*

*must*

<sup>1</sup> But without effect.

<sup>2</sup> In that crooked measure, by which he hath cut out his discipline.

<sup>3</sup> Where doeth that appeare?

<sup>4</sup> You are against your selfe, and your profit.

<sup>5</sup> Libellers by Law are reputed infamous.

<sup>6</sup> Is his braine disordered?

<sup>7</sup> An easie matter to say, hard to proue.

<sup>8</sup> Humble words euil agree with haucie minds.

<sup>9</sup> Confesse them, and amend them, and detest libelling.



must needs acknowledge it to be iust with God, howsoeuer it be <sup>1</sup> vnrigh-  
 teous with men. I know right well Madame what the prophet  
 Dauid did in like case, who when he was reuiled and <sup>2</sup> railed vpon by  
 Shimei, did neither fret at this nor at that, as commonly men doe, nor  
 yet looke vpon the <sup>3</sup> person and vilenesse of the man, with any frowning  
 aspect or reuengefull countenance, but on the contrary, did forthwith  
 cast his eyes vp to heauen, acknowledging it to bee the hand of the  
 great God, and to be his doing. Hee curseth, saith he, euen because  
 the Lord hath bidden him curse Dauid, &c. I confesse, Madame, I  
 ought to bee thus affected too, if I were, <sup>4</sup> as I should bee. but falling  
 short of this, my onely desire (if it might be) for all the malice I beare  
 to master Sutcliffe, is this, that in this case I <sup>5</sup> might be credited, and  
 he not. And I thinke, madame, I haue <sup>6</sup> reason to desire it. In deed if I  
 came to appeach or <sup>7</sup> accuse, there were some reason for a person of  
 your place to make a pause, and not to be ouerswift in lending an eare  
 vnto me. but coming as I doe in defence of the <sup>8</sup> innocent, and to  
<sup>9</sup> saue the guiltlesse from obloquie and slander, me i thinkes I may by all  
 lawes heathen and christian, (and that without offence) challenge  
 as it were a day of fauourable hearing, and <sup>10</sup> credence before mine  
 aduersarie.

I remember the <sup>11</sup> felons and malefactors standing at the barre,  
 one of the last things, that the iudge doeth aske of them, before he pro-  
 ceed to sentence, is this: what hast thou to say for thy selfe why  
 thou maiest not haue iudgement? &c. I could wish Madame, and  
 my humble sute vnto your honor, and to all others that shall read these  
 printed accusations against mee, is, that ye would in this case play still  
 the <sup>12</sup> vpright iudges with me, and affoord me but that fauour, which  
 is not denied you see, to very theenes and <sup>13</sup> felons at the barre, name-  
 ly, that ye would not passe any resolute sentence of credite or condem-  
 nation against me, before you haue made enquirie, what Throkmor-  
 ton can say for himselfe, why he <sup>14</sup> may not be reputed a traitor  
 and conspirator, as well as Hacket. and if I may be but thus chari-  
 tably delt with, that is, if none of those <sup>15</sup> slaunders may make any im-  
 pression against me in the brests and conceites of men, before I be due-  
 ly & patiently heard what I can say for my selfe, assure your selfe, ma-  
 dame, I will neuer <sup>16</sup> craue a Psalm of Miserere for my deliuerance  
 while I liue. but rather, if I be asked what I haue to say for my selfe,  
 I will by Gods grace, say, <sup>17</sup> euen as I haue sayd, & is here already laid

<sup>1</sup> Ought not men  
 to accompt iust,  
 what God ap-  
 proueth as iust?  
<sup>2</sup> Euen so this  
 Shimei hath rai-  
 led at the reue-  
 rend prelates of  
 the land.  
<sup>3</sup> Neither are  
 good men to, re-  
 spect the base  
 qualitie, & scur-  
 rilitie of the  
 Martinists.  
<sup>4</sup> When wil you  
 endeavour to be  
 so?  
<sup>5</sup> How can you  
 desire it, bring-  
 ing no prooffe  
 nor good pro-  
 bable reason?  
<sup>6</sup> No reason at al.  
<sup>7</sup> As you do.  
<sup>8</sup> Is Copinger  
 and Martin inno-  
 cent.  
<sup>9</sup> His cause is  
 spilt, God grant  
 he may saue his  
 soule.  
<sup>10</sup> Many offen-  
 ders defend the-  
 selues, & yet de-  
 serue little credit.  
<sup>11</sup> This is a good  
 plea, but little for  
 his credite to put  
 himselfe among  
 felons.  
<sup>12</sup> If you be wise,  
 desire the con-  
 trary.  
<sup>13</sup> Doeth any de-  
 ny him this fa-  
 uour?  
<sup>14</sup> This is not the  
 question.  
<sup>15</sup> What are  
 they?  
<sup>16</sup> Be not too  
 rash to loose  
 your aduantage.  
<sup>17</sup> If you can say  
 no more, God  
 helpe you, for  
 this is euen iust  
 nothing.



<sup>1</sup> Homo planus.

<sup>2</sup> But most vainly & foolishly.

<sup>3</sup> Is it now time to tender an issue?

<sup>4</sup> You bring your selfe in question no man pursuing you.

<sup>5</sup> It hath bene sufficiently prooued, and almost confessed.

<sup>6</sup> You should haue sayd somewhat of Martin also.

<sup>7</sup> It is sufficient if your head were in it, or your consent.

<sup>8</sup> A good phrase, for a releafe and yet no man releaseth Throk. of suspicion.

<sup>9</sup> Let him take heed how his heart come to be arraigned or strained before men.

<sup>10</sup> It is an easie matter to protest, but hard to cleare a man.

<sup>11</sup> He taketh percase all Hackets and Wiggintons deuises not to be against her maiestie.

<sup>12</sup> Let him die the death of Martin Marprelate, and cease to talke of righteousness.

downe to your Ladyship in all <sup>\*</sup> plainnesse and trueth, which I<sup>1</sup> hope, is sufficient to cleare me in the face of any righteous Iudge vnder heauen.

The<sup>2</sup> issue therefore of the whole is this, that when things haue bene neuer so much wrenched and writhed, yea, & as it were strangely tenter-stretched against me, to bring me not onely in disgrace, but in<sup>3</sup> question of my life: yet if euer it be proued Madame, by any<sup>4</sup> acte, witnesse, or record vnder the sunne, that Throk Morton was any way accessory, weeting, priuie or consenting to any of those vile practises of<sup>5</sup> Hacket and his accomplices: nay more, not onely in this, but in any other action attempt or consultation whatsoeuer, if, I say, it may bee proued, that euer he had any<sup>6</sup> hand in any vngodly practise against his dread soueraigne, from the<sup>7</sup> beginning of the world to this day, he craueth none other fauour, then to be made a publike spectacle, and a notable example of iustice to all posteritie. Nay, he saith further in his owne clearing and defence, that if his very<sup>8</sup> heart were arraigned in the presence of God and men, he may safely<sup>9</sup> protest, that he is so farre from being guiltie of that wherewith he is thus wrongfully & iniuriously slandered, that hee is not priuie to himselfe of so much as any felonious or deloyall thought of her<sup>10</sup> maiestie. if he be, let<sup>11</sup> him not die the death of the righteous.

Matth. Sutcliffe.

He hath in deed endeouored to defend himselfe, as he saith, but how loosely and vnsufficiently, this my answer compared with his letter, will declare. nay, albeit I had answered nothing, yet the vnsufficiencie and most childish simplicitie of his defence, was sufficient to condemne him, sure, in no mans iudgement can it cleare him.

I haue endenoured, saith hee, in that measure I could; as if his measure were defectiue: yet if he measure his discourse by his title, it is very large and ouerflowing. for whereas hee pretendeth onely the defence of himselfe; yet doeth he for the most part defend others, and accuse others: the which, I dare say, this good Lady to whom he writeth, did neuer desire. why will he then tell vs, that he did this to satisfie the earnest request of that lady? could he shew mee the letter that this lady wrote to him, or prooue that she desired him, he should purge himselfe of a great



great suspicion of leasing. and though his measure be but smal, and as it were a quart of sentences tempered with a pint of choler; yet should he be pardoned for it.

*He would, he saith, bee loath that there should bee any vntueth found in his letter,* which I doe in part beleue. and therefore I feare he will be very angry to read this answer, wherein many vntueths, beside other defects of his, are very plainly laid open. yet cannot I doe withall. being charged as I walked in the course of other studies, although vnwilling to be distoured or disturbed, yet could I not chuse but defend my selfe. if such ignorant and simple authors will bee meddling, let them stand to their aduventure.

Very desirous he seemeth, *to haue his letter published.* but if he had knowen either his owne weaknesse, or the little woorth of his letter, he would neuer haue come forth in this sort to make challenge. This letter will rather condemne him, then cleare him. and the lady may percase bee offended with him for making the toys directed to her, common. these are therefore great faults. yet where he saith, *he is wounded in capite,* he saith well. for I do beleue if Chirurgions did wel search him, they should find great cracks in his scull, whereby I feare a great part of his wit is euaporated. If his good name bee blemished, it was his great fault. for what had he to do with *Wiggintō, Copinger, Hacket?* that which he talketh of wrestling and curtailing, whereby he saith, he is made little better then a traitour, is answered already. This now also he must vnderstand further, that men are not made traitours by wrestling nor wringing, but by conspiring and practising, and conforthing themselves with traitors, of which, because this letter contained nothing but vaine babble, he may doe well to cleare himselfe in the next.

In the last part of his booke, he speaketh like a penitent. there wāteth nothing but two stout felowes behind him with whips to lash him, that he might bee of that order of penitents which they call *flagellantes*, or at least *flagellati*. but if hee will repent in deed, he must leaue his scorning & his gibing, his reuelling and railing, and in stead of letters write confessions. for I doubt not, but if he would, he might make many books of confessions. let him as he confesseth some sinnes, so confesse y rest, & amend all.

let



let him be sory first for abusing of the word of God, & for all his impieties, next for his disloialtie to her Maiestie, & all his discontentments; lastly, for railing and reuelling against the state and the church of God. and then we will pray for him, and I trust God will forgiue him. if hee repent not, but still continue his course, he doeth but hope in vayne for remission or pardon, his fault still remaining.

2 Sam. 16.

He compareth himselfe to *David*, who did not fret at the railing of *Shimei*. but much fitter had the comparison bene, if hee had compared himselfe to *Shimei*. for as *Shimei* railed on *David*, and called him *bloodie, and wicked man*, so hath he railed & fitted those termes to innocents. To compare himselfe to king *David*, hee might bee ashamed; *David* wrote no such absurd and calumnious letters to ladies, to defame honest men, nor did he shew any signes of discontentment. Contrarywise, *Throckmorton* hath mutined against his superiours, & railed at gouernours, and impiously scoffed at matters of religion, which was farre from *David*. he was a noble king, and a religious prophet: *Job Throckmorton* is neither king nor prophet, but as you would say, a *Canarian* cole-prophet, disciple to *Hacket*.

He desireth to bee credited, and that no credite may bee giuen to me. but what is that, but to beg a cause, rather then to prooue his innocencie? so farre as he hath brought reason, let him bee credited. where he fableth, let prooffe bee sought for, and trueth be beleueed. without prooffes contrary to so many presumptions and othes, he may not thinke that he shall be credited, nor if he had any wit, would he desire it.

He denieth that he commeth to accuse, so soone hath he forgotten himselfe, and what he hath sayd, and how he hath accused me to this namelesse ladie. and to say trueth, his letter is rather a foolish calumniatio, then any sound accusation. but what if he should come to accuse? then saith hee to the lady, *there were some reason to make some pause, and not to be ouer-swift in lending an eare vnto me*. as if he should say, because he commeth to defend himselfe, that therefore the lady without making pause ought to discharge him. and therefore he saith, *that comming in defence of the innocent, he may challenge a fauourable day of hearing*. as if Iudges knew innocents by their apparell and countenance



nance, and were bound to discharge them, albeit they bring no reason for their discharge. but suppose he should not be found innocent; then doeth hee speake against himselfe, and refuseth not that his Lady should giue sentence against him. how innocent and guiltlesse he is, may appeare by this discourse.

He calleth me *his aduersarie*, but he abuseth himselfe much, if he thinke I meane to contend long with such a one: I neither accuse him, nor meane to excuse him, nor to deale with him, but in mine owne defence. nor if I should, is there any glory in the conquest of such a simple aduersarie.

His best defence is, *that euen felons and malefactors are heard what they can say.* and so hath he bene in this letter, and yet had sayd nothing to purpose. He saith also very stoutly, that *he will craue no psalme of Miserere*: but let him be better aduised, for men condemned, passe to execution.

In the conclusion and close of his letter, he tendereth an issue to all his aduersaries, and that full wisely. for the issue or state of the cause is to be set downe in the beginning of the disputation; that all arguments to and fro being directed thither, the truth in the end may be bolted out. this being done by *Throk*, in the conclusion, what doeth he, but leaue this impression in his readers mindes, that he hath talked idly in all his discourse & babled hee knoweth not himselfe what, and made that first which should be last, & that last which should be first, and so iumbled altogether most vnskilfully?

But let vs heare that issue which hee hath tendered vnto vs. *If*, saith he, *when all things haue bene wrenched, and tenter-stretched against me, it bee prooued by any acte or record vnder the sunne, that Throkmorton was priuie to any of Hackets practises, or to any attempt against his dread soueraigne, then let him be made a publike spectacle, and an example of iustice to all posteritie.* which issue may be tried by that which is said already, & that without any wrenching at all, so that vnlesse he haue some crafty meaning, hee doeth pronounce a most cleare sentence against himselfe. but either he doeth not condemne *Hackets* practises for vile; or els where as hee had many practises, doeth not condemne those which were enterprised for the consistoriall discipline for vile; or els meaneth, that he was only acquainted with *Copingers* de-



*An answer vnto*

uises; or els doeth not take them to bee direct contrary to her Maiestie; or els dreadeth her not, abusing her clemencie; or percase wisheth himselfe turned into a paire of spectacles, which would be a great miracle to all posteritie.

Vnlesse he haue some subtile meaning, hee hath by his owne issue so entangled himselfe, that he shall neuer be able to finde issue, but that which is common to all malefactors when they are come to the last issue. for that he receiued and wrote letters to *Copinger*, which import not onely intelligence with the conspirators, but also consent and consort; is prooued, and for the most part confessed. That innouation for change of lawes and gouernment, is an attempt against the prince, needeth no proof; that he is malcontent with the state, and seeketh the erection of the consistorie, I trow he will not denie; that he was a principal actor in *Martins* libels, witnesses testifie. If then before the tribunall seate of men he cannot excuse himselfe, where notwithstanding many things are hidden or coloured, or passed ouer by fauour; let him feare to appeale to the tribunall seate of God, where all his secret whisperings, and conferences, and prayers, and all those plots and deseignments that he and *Copinger* and *Hacket* had together, lie open. Neither let him thinke that hee can abuse the wisdom of God, albeit he thinke that the tumult which was to be raised for the expulsion of bishops, and enthronizing and crowning of church-aldermen, was not direct against her Maiestie. for God knoweth well whereto this tended. Finally, let him not vse either protestation (for no man will beleue him) nor imprecation, (for that is a spice of *Hackets* follie.) let him not (I say) desire *that he may not die the death of the righteous*, as he doeth, neither let him curse his owne head which he learned of the prophet of discipline *Hacket*: such haps come but too soone without wishing or sending for; and Gods vengeance lighteth heavy on the head of the wicked: but let him rather beseech God to forgiue him all his hypocrisie, and wickednesse, and craue fauour of her Maiestie, and such as hee hath offended, and wrongfully chalenged; & then, for my part, he shal vnderstand that I meane not to make my selfe partie against him. all is one to me, whether the carcases of libellers be eaten of wormes or crows: onely my desire is, that his soule  
may



maybe saued, and others warned not to follow his insolencie. if he shall still insist on his innocencie, and challenge those for slandering him, that rather would haue him an example of clemencie then iustice, & raile against such as are vnwilling to meddle with him, let him impute it to himselfe, if that course bee taken with him, which his bad practises & the iustice of the realme requireth.

Thus you see the importunitie of this man, that can not rest when he is well; his folly, that hath made his cause worse; and the reason we had to make doubt and aske the questions that we did. What profite can redound of this controuersie I know not, the same being nothing to the Consistoriall cause. That I haue done him no wrong, may easily appeare by this discourse. Read it if you list; if not, doe as you list, the matter is not great. To season the sourenesse of his stile, I thought good to admixe some sport. What should a man take to heart what such a trifler bableth? To answer in mine owne defence I was constrained, but shortly because the obiections were not great. My onely desire was, that trueth might be tried, and lawes defended, and slander repelled, and that with thee I might retaine that good opinion stil, which thou hast conceiued of me. If I haue satisfied thy expectation, I haue my desire; if not, impute it to the barrenesse of this cause, being nothing, but <sup>1</sup> *concerning the shadow of an asse*. These trifling matters ended, God graunt euery man an earnest zeale to seeke his glory, and the edification of his Church; and a loyall heart to employ himselfe, in the seruice of God, and his prince and countrey. In the meane while, let vs say with the Prophet, as he said of such aduersaries of Gods trueth, <sup>2</sup> *Fill their faces with shame, that they may seeke thy Name o Lord.* To his Name be all praise ascribed for euer and euer.

( \* \* \* )

Faults escaped correct thus,

Fol. 7. b. lin. 1. reade talke? but that. fol. 11. b. lin. 32. aduise that esteemed. fol. 15. a lin. 2. gathered by his weake reasoning against them, that he. fol. 20. b. l. 27. nor inuerting. fol. 26. b. lin. 29. honour, and which. fol. 29. b. lin. 28. Princes doings? fol. 30. b. lin. 37. *in uetus est*. fol. 36. b. in mar. ad numer. 14. de 3. *elohim*. fol. 42. a. in mar. *Co. de sum*. fol. 66. b. lin. 18. *Aesopes fables*,

<sup>2</sup> Psalme 83.